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ABSTRACT

This document consists of all six issues of the "Journal of Research for School Executives" published before it was discontinued. The spring 1991 issue includes four research articles and one essay on employee discipline, school reform, experiences of state departments of education in school/college collaboration, legal aspects of disciplining students with disabilities, and administrative roles in school-centered decision making. Also, two reviews of Samuel J. Freedman's book, "Small Victories: The Real World of a Teacher, Her Students and Their High School" is included. The fall 1991 issue contains four research articles and one essay on Glasser's control theory, censorship and the public school library, the effectiveness of principals and effectiveness indicators, cooperative learning, and school facility evaluations. Also included are two reviews of John Goodlad's book, "Teachers for Our Nation's Schools." The winter 1991-92 issue is devoted to cooperative learning, including articles on the accommodation of mainstreamed learners within cooperative groups, administrative support, teacher strategies, coaching, and three exemplary lessons using cooperative learning techniques. The book, "What's Worth Fighting For? Working Together for Your School," by Michael G. Fullan and Andy Hargreaves is reviewed. The spring 1992 issue contains five research articles and one essay on administrators' perceptions of priorities for dealing with dropouts, implementation of school-based management, principal communication during performance evaluations, charismatic leadership, school-community relations and John Dewey, and school reform. The fall 1992 issue concludes five research articles and two essays on Total Quality Management, teachers and instructional improvement, moral decision making, the student teacher effect on elementary school class achievement, superintendent mobility, self-evaluation, and the role of technology in curriculum reform. Two reviews of Howard Gardner's book, "The Unschooled Mind: How Children Think and How Schools Should Teach," are also included. The winter 1992-93 issue contains six research articles on administrators' perceptions regarding the implementation of the "Education for All Handicapped Children's Act," collaboration, i.e., between universities and schools, the role of school board policy as a control mechanism in curriculum challenges, administrator values, the languages of leadership, and the role of values education/civic education in Indonesia. (LMI)

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JOURNAL OF RESEARCH FOR

SPRING 1991 VOLUME 1

SCHOOL EXECUTIVES

Arbitration of Discipline Grievances•School/College Collaboration•Discipline of Handicapped Students
School Reform: Accountability to Nurturance•School-Centered Decision Making

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JOURNAL OF RESEARCH FOR SPRING 1991 VOLUME 1

SCHOOL EXECUTIVES

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JOURNAL OF RESEARCH FOR
SCHOOL EXECUTIVES

Dear Educational Colleague:

The Institute for School Executives and The College of Education at The University of Iowa are proud to announce the establishment and publication of the *Journal of Research for School Executives*. The *Journal* has been planned to be of the greatest value to practicing school administrators and their respective staff and school board members.

Each issue will carry four to six articles on current research results in education related fields, two to three timely articles on current issues of importance to practicing school administrators and one or two reviews of books of interest to educational leaders.

Several unique features are part of our planning to get current and valuable research in a variety of fields in the hands of school executives. First, articles are selected on the basis of their practical application in school offices, classrooms or board rooms, and are written in a style useful to practitioners.

While not every article will be of value to all school executives, each will be of interest and applicable to at least a selected segment of practicing school executives. Second, the publication is refereed. The manuscript for each proposed article is reviewed by at least two reviewers under the direction of a member of the Editorial Board. Third, each article contains the mailing address of the researcher or a contact person so that readers may make direct contact for additional information, raise questions, and receive informal consultation. Fourth, the publication's copyright is waived for the purpose of making multiple copies for not-for-profit educational purposes. While the members of the Editorial Board and The University of Iowa are pleased to offer this publication to the educational community, we are quite dependent on you, the reader, in at least two areas:

1. Manuscripts. The *Journal* requires 35 to 40 quality manuscripts annually in order to provide timely and valuable information to its readers. Thus far, the most difficult problem in establishing this publication has been the solicitation of manuscripts for review by a new, unestablished publication. If you have manuscripts of recent research or views of a scholarly nature of value and interest to school executives, please consider allowing the *Journal* to review them for consideration for publication. (A detailed discussion of manuscripts is found on the inside back cover.)
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As a newly established publication, we continually have issues to address and adjustments to make. If you have any suggestions on how we might improve our publication, please contact us, either directly or through Editorial Board members.

Sincerely,

Larry D. Bartlett, Editor

Patterns of Employee Discipline That Emerged From Arbitration of Grievances

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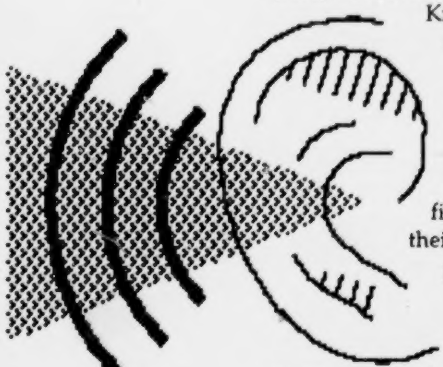
Introduction

School boards and school administrators are charged with the management and development of their employees. This responsibility includes the safeguarding of due process rights. Teacher organizations have negotiated collective bargaining agreements that provide due process and protect employees from management decisions that may be arbitrary, capricious, or discriminatory. Despite this, due process is attacked most often by labor organizations because of defective procedures in observing and remediating employee behavior (Stone, 1981, p. 407).

School districts and their bargaining units have increasingly sought arbitration as a remedy for resolution of disputes regarding the disciplining of professional employees. In Pennsylvania the grievance procedure provided for in the Public Employee Relations Act of 1970 has been critical in the management-employee relationship (PA. Cons. Stat. § 195).

While arbitrators do not interfere lightly with management's decisions in disciplinary matters, they will act firmly when management's decisions are found to be unjust and unreasonable (*Werner-Continental, 1978*). This right to "interfere" (*Fruehauf Trailer Company*, 1951) has been sustained by the courts, which have consistently refused to be drawn into the review of awards, noting that such actions would undermine the arbitration process.

Research with regard to analyses of arbitration awards in education since 1971 is limited in number and general in scope. Scholtz (1972), Kovevar (1976), Munro (1981), and Kirschling (1983) all felt that educators should be aware of the inevitable role of awards as precedent setting. They suggest that arbitration has judicial elements within it, and that as patterns are identified, administrators must review their practices in order to ensure greater effectiveness in their job responsibilities and in arbitration. They also noted that awareness of the decisions made and processes used by arbitrators will strengthen effective employer-employee relationships and limit the number of arbitrations.



The literature indicates that decisions made by arbitrators—or, those decisions that are available for study—has grown and provides "a body of arbitration law" (Kirschling,1983; Lieberman and Moskow, 1966; Zeidler, 1969) that can inform, guide, and shape due process procedures for school boards and teacher organizations. Arbitrators can influence policy decisions and become designers of school personnel practices, defining the tenants of progressive or corrective discipline, the steps of due process, and the conditions for just cause. School districts, administrators, and other school employees can be and are directly affected by the decisions of arbitrators.

Objectives

The central purpose of this study was to systematically analyze arbitration decisions resulting from disciplinary action taken by school districts and grieved by professional employees to determine if arbitrators are upholding decisions made by school districts and to determine what are the deciding factors in upholding, modifying, or not allowing a district's decision.

This study describes the results of an analysis of arbitration awards from 27 states and the District of Columbia during the years 1972-1987. These arbitrations all dealt with the issue of school district disciplinary action against professional employees. The following questions were answered:

1. Are arbitrators upholding the decisions of school districts in professional employee discipline cases? and
2. What is the most frequently mentioned deciding factor in upholding, modifying, or not allowing a district's action?

Methods and Data Source

The data for this study were acquired from 333 written arbitration awards/cases. The source was the Labor Relations Press (LRP) located in Fort Washington, Pennsylvania, which publishes fifteen nationwide labor relations periodicals covering public and private sector grievance arbitration, public sector labor relations arbitrations, and statutory appeal adjudication. The LRP provided full text reports of available arbitration cases. (Arbitrators are not required by law to submit rulings in writing. Any case written and submitted by an arbitrator is done voluntarily.)

A literature search was made through the LRP to obtain those awards which specifically applied to cases related to the disciplining of professionals employed by public school systems across the United States from 1972 through 1987. Each case was reviewed for the following information: the employee's offense; the district's action; the arbitrator's decision; the deciding factor cited by the arbitrator; the year of the arbitration; and the state in which it was made.

The cases were analyzed first for descriptive trends. The categories of Offense, District Action, Arbitrator's Decision, and Deciding Factors were analyzed for context, frequency, and rank order. The year and state information were examined for frequency of arbitrations reported and trends.

Results

The results of the study are reported first by presenting the scope of personnel discipline arbitrations reported (frequency and geographic location, types and frequency of offenses, district action, arbitrator's decision, and deciding factor) and then by presenting the key elements of 10 employee offenses.

Scope

Frequency and Geographic Location. Cases examined in the study occurred in twenty-seven (27) states and the District of Columbia. The largest number came from the Northeast and the smallest number from the Southeast. The highest frequency per state was reported from New York (25.5%), Michigan (12.3%), and Pennsylvania (7.2%). Eight states reported only one case.

Types and Frequency of Offenses. Discipline for incompetence (120) was the most frequently reviewed grievance. Another 139 (41.7%) occurred over the issues of Insubordination (65) and Unprofessional Conduct (74). Discipline for Alcohol Related Offenses (6) and those for Violation of Law (6) outside of the school were least frequently reported (Table 1).

District Action. Termination (136), Written Reprimand (108), and Suspension without pay (27) accounted for 81.3% of the district actions. The remaining twelve actions accounted for 18.7% (Table 2).

Arbitrator's Decision. Arbitrators disallowed or modified two out of every three district actions when considering all of the cases studied (Table 3).

Deciding Factor. Procedures/Timeliness of Evaluation (18.6%) was the factor most frequently cited by arbitrators in changing or modifying awards. Language of the Collective Bargaining Agreement, Procedural Due Process, Lack of Evidence or Just Cause, and Management Rights each accounted for approximately 10%. Board Policy (0.9%) and Decision of Prior Arbitrator (1.2%) were least used (Table 4).

Table 1
Frequency of the Classification of Offenses for the 333 Cases Submitted to Arbitration

Classification of Offense	Frequency	Percent
Abuse of Leave	23	6.9
Incompetence	120	36.9
Negligence	12	3.6
Insubordination	65	19.5
Immorality	7	2.1
Excessive Tardiness	7	2.1
Unprofessional Conduct	4	22.2
Violation of Law	6	1.8
Alcohol Related Offenses	6	1.8
Cruelty	13	3.9
TOTAL	333	100.0

Table 2

Frequency of District Actions Taken in the 333 Cases Submitted to Arbitration

District Action	Frequency	Percent
Oral Reprimand	6	1.8
Written Reprimand	108	32.4
Denial of Tenure	3	0.9
Suspension Without Pay	27	8.1
Suspension With Pay	3	0.9
Monetary Penalty Only	14	4.2
Termination	136	40.8
Probation	2	0.6
Letters to Superiors	5	1.5
Low Evaluation	11	3.3
Change in Assignment	11	3.3
Written Reprimand/Probation	1	0.3
Written Reprimand/Suspension 5 days or less	1	0.3
Written Reprimand/Monetary Penalty	3	0.9
Written Reprimand/Threat of Suspension	2	0.6
TOTAL	333	100.0

Arbitrators can influence policy decisions and become designers of school personnel practices . . .

Employee Offenses

Abuse of Leave. Employees abused sick leave more often than they abused emergency or personal leaves; arbitrators overturned or modified the district's action in 66% of these cases. They usually disallowed actions which included two penalties, such as Written Reprimand and Dockage of Pay, and modified or disallowed actions based on Violations of Due Process, Language of the Collective Bargaining Agreement, or Lack of Evidence/Just Cause.

Incompetence. More cases appeared in this category (120) than any other. Only 20% of the cases involved teachers with permanent contracts. Districts were unsuccessful in having their discipline upheld in 50% of the cases and were more likely to have their discipline modified for permanent employees and upheld for temporary or probationary ones. Procedures/Timeliness of Evaluation was cited most frequently as the deciding factor.

Negligence. Twelve awards were reported in this category of offense. Professionals were disciplined for absence from duty assignments, lack of classroom control resulting in student injury, and neglect of responsibility for obtaining appropriate certifications.

Written reprimands were issued in six of the cases, suspensions in three, termination in two, and oral reprimand in one. Past practice and Language of the Collective Bargaining Agreement were used most often by arbitrators in deciding on cases in this category.

Insubordination. Instances where employees willfully violated or failed to follow directives, procedures, and/or policies of district administrations and boards were reported in 65 of the cases. Districts used written reprimand 60% of the time and suspension without pay or termination 25% of the time.

Grievances were modified or not allowed when districts violated due process by failing to place material in files without the employee's signature or documented knowledge and arbitrators looked for evidence of progressive discipline in decision making.

Table 3

Frequency of the Arbitrator's Decision in 333 Cases Submitted to Arbitration From 1972-87

Arbitrator's Decision	Number of Cases	Percentage of Cases
District Action Upheld	117	35.1
District Action Modified	57	17.1
District Action Not Upheld	159	47.8
TOTAL	333	100.0

Excessive Tardiness. Seven cases were reported for this category of offense. When the grievant's record reflected past abuse and/or discipline, the district penalized by dockage of pay. Termination was used for the most frequent offender and written reprimand for the first-time offense. Arbitrators analyzed progressive discipline, forewarning, and/or discriminatory treatment in making their rulings.

Immorality. Seven cases were reviewed involving termination for reasons of immorality. Three were upheld, three were disallowed, and one was modified. The deciding factors used by arbitrators related to the procedures used by districts to forewarn, help, or discipline the employee and the credibility of witness testimony.

Table 4
Frequency of Deciding Factors in Employee Discipline Arbitration Cases

Deciding Factor	Frequency	Percent
Decision of Prior Arbitrator	04	1.2
Due Process	30	9.0
Past Practice	12	3.6
Past Record of Grievant	23	6.9
Need for Forewarning	18	5.4
Progressive Discipline	19	5.7
Discriminatory Treatment	14	4.2
Procedures/Timeliness of Evaluation	62	18.6
Lack of Evidence or Just Cause	29	8.7
Language of CBA	34	10.2
Management Rights	31	9.3
Board Policy	03	0.9
Excessive Punishment	01	3.3
Sufficiency of Evidence or Just Cause	15	4.5
Content Error of Written Reprimand	08	2.4
Adequacy of Investigation	06	1.8
Legal Reference	08	2.4
Timeliness of Filing	16	1.8
TOTAL	333	100.0

Unprofessional Conduct. Seventy-four cases were reported in this category. The actions of written reprimand and termination accounted for 75% of the districts' actions. Districts' positions were overturned or modified three out of four times. Factors influencing the districts' low rate of success included the inability to meet the burden of proof, violations of due process, violations of the grievance procedures of the Collective Bargaining Agreement, and the lack of forewarning on policy that guides employee actions.

Violation of Law. School districts acted to remove or reassign five employees and to reprimand one for violations of the law. These violations included embezzlement, drug trafficking, use of unlawful threats of force, and fraud. The arbitrators upheld three, modified one, and did not uphold two.

Alcohol Related. The six cases that reached arbitration in this study were the result of alcohol abuse. Districts moved to discharge four employees and used written reprimand in combination with the penalties of suspension or low evaluation in the other two.

Arbitrators refused to uphold four of the districts' actions. They were unwilling to support districts when evidence did not indicate that a full investigation of the charges had occurred, that the employee's teaching abilities were impaired, or that progressive discipline or support for the employee's rehabilitation had been offered. Conviction of drunken driving was not sufficient evidence for employee discipline.

Cruelty. Twelve of thirteen cases in this category involved employee use of excessive force in disciplining or restraining students. In the majority of cases, the district used suspension as a disciplinary measure. Termination and written reprimands were used to a lesser degree.

Seventy-five percent of the penalties were disallowed. Arbitrators generally based their decisions on the sufficiency of evidence and reasonableness of the punishment based on the type of offense, past record of the grievant, and previous use of progressive discipline.

Discussion

The purpose of this research was to study arbitration decisions resulting from disciplinary action taken by school districts and grieved by professional employees. The results provide information that has relevance for understanding the development of appropriate disciplinary action procedures. The reader is reminded, however, that all of the arbitration awards reviewed were voluntarily reported to the Labor Relations Press. There is no mandatory reporting procedure that arbitrators are required to follow; therefore, the results reported here reflect only those cases available for review.

It is the responsibility of the school administrator to demonstrate that a clear and reasoned process was designed to help the employee improve skills . . .

Not surprisingly, most of the reports available for review were from the Northeast where union strength is generally strong. The fewest came from the South and the Southeast, areas in which labor organizations are less prominent.

Changes in types and frequencies of offenses arbitrated during the period of the study reflect a decrease in arbitrations regarding teacher competency in the classroom and an increase in the grievances for unprofessional conduct. In the 1970s districts most frequently lost in their attempts to dismiss teachers for incompetency because of defects in procedures used and timeliness of evaluation.

There was a decrease in the types of deciding factors used by arbitrators in the 1980s. Procedures/Timeliness of Evaluation was the deciding factor cited most frequently in the reported cases. The increased use by arbitrators of disciplinary actions such as Need for Forewarning and Sufficiency of Evidence or Just Cause, coupled with the frequent use of the words "progressive discipline," indicates that arbitrators are insisting that districts manage misconduct by their professional employees with better communication, thorough documentation, and positive intervention within a system of progressive or corrective discipline.

Double penalties have declined over the years and were often ruled as excessive. Denial of salary increment or advancement on the salary schedule and low evaluation used in the 1970s were upheld infrequently, and were not used at all in the 1980s. Suspension with Pay provides discipline of a more progressive nature, but requires no monetary penalty; therefore, it allows the school district to place the offense in the grievant's record but lessens the chance of it being modified or disallowed.

Arbitrators modified or did not allow 75% of the cases in the Unprofessional Conduct category. They had difficulty determining if certain conduct (teaching about witchcraft, using a prostitute as a guest speaker, or bringing a poisonous snake to class) was unprofessional. While districts disciplined teachers for these actions, they were overruled in arbitration because they failed to prove that the events cited were a result of poor judgement on the part of the employee. Proving poor judgement/unprofessional behavior is obviously difficult. The school administrator must be diligent in collecting evidence that supports poor judgement/unprofessional behavior on the part of the employee in more than one or two isolated instances.

Arbitrators refused to uphold district action in several cases related to failure to comply with board policy. They held that board policy must be clear, definitive, and unambiguous. There must be evidence that it was available to all employees. If a policy has been changed, old copies must be collected, destroyed, and new copies distributed and discussed. Keeping policy up to date is always good practice.

Timing and timeliness were discussed frequently by arbitrators. They reviewed the date and frequency of observations. In one specific instance, the arbitrator ruled that three observations in one week was "capricious and discriminatory." A few thought that evaluations made either immediately before or after vacations and holiday periods were "unfair." It is the responsibility of the school administrator to demonstrate that a clear and reasoned process was designed to help the employee improve skills and that appropriate observations were made to determine improvement or lack of improvement.

Several reports written by one or only a few arbitrators contained valuable information that suggests trends, gives cause to ponder, and provides guidance for the school administrator. For example, several arbitrators looked unfavorably on the use of a "dormant" clause or policy (a clause/policy not used for several years) in the district contract or policy manual. They felt that a school district must give a clear notice of its intentions to invoke the clause or policy in order to invoke it in the future. Also, a few arbitrators payed particular attention to past records. Good past records of employees influenced the decisions made by arbitrators in favor of the employee. Rulings such as these (although not frequently cited) should be recognized by school administrators and used to guide future practice.

Finally, school administrators must apply political pressure to bring about legislation that requires arbitrators to provide written reports of each and every case reviewed. Much can be learned by studying the written rulings of arbitrators which will help administrators collect appropriate information and prepare better reports.

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School Reform: From Testing and Accountability To Autonomy and Nurturance

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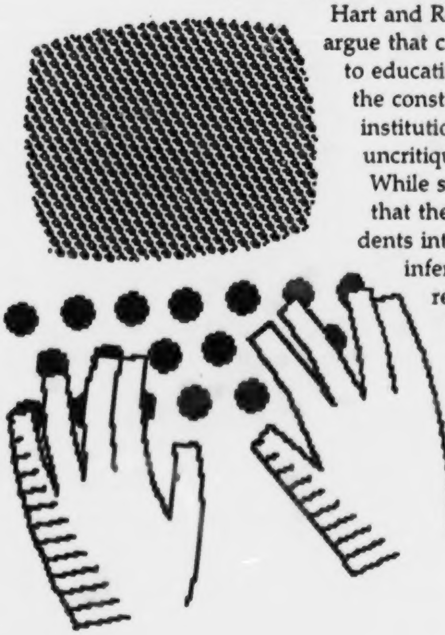
School reform over the past decade has been driven by an emphasis on mathematics and science, a tightly defined core curriculum, external testing, and teacher accountability. There is little evidence, however, that these reforms are working to produce better schools. In fact, a recent Carnegie Foundation survey of over 21,000 teachers reports that the reform movement earned only a grade of C from 54 percent of the respondents. Almost one-third of the teachers assigned the reform movement a grade of D or F (Bradley, 1990).

Looking at gains in science, the National Assessment of Educational Progress reports some increases from 1982 to 1986. These gains were most marked in the southeastern region and among minorities. Seventeen-year-old males showed no significant gains. Improvements occurred only in lower level skills; students in the upper ranges did not show any improvement, and the proportion of students able to perform moderately complex and specialized scientific tasks, about 7 percent of the 17-year-olds, has not changed in a decade. Even more telling are student attitudes:

> . . .by grade 11, almost half of the students have decided not to take any more science courses, few spend time on independent science-related hobbies or science-related hobbies or activities, and only about half think that what is learned in science class is useful in everyday life. (Mullis & Jenkins, 1988, p. 13)



Hart and Robottom (1990) argue that current approaches to educational reform permit the constraining influences of institutional life to continue uncritiqued and unchanged. While science teachers say that they want to help students interpret data, make inferences, and explore relationships, their observed classroom behavior focused on isolated facts and rote learning. The gap between desires and practice, Hart and Robottom contend, is in large measure a consequence of the fact that school policies and practices do not rest in the hands of practitioners.

The claim that teachers are not in control of their practices merits further examination and will lead us to suggest that the ineffectiveness of school reform in the past decade is due, in part, to reliance on a mandated core curriculum and external testing. By focusing attention on content and teacher accountability, reform measures have diverted the attention of school leaders, the public, and teachers from fundamental questions about (1) the role of content in the cognitive development of students, and (2) the role of teacher autonomy in designing curriculum and instruction.

Teachers are reacting negatively to pressures for "higher achievement" when achievement is defined as test scores on a hodgepodge of items reflecting content that has been "covered" in class, but rarely integrated by the student so that such content contributes to larger understandings. Additionally, teachers are confused by conflicting demands. On the one hand, teachers are told that they must produce workers who have the skills to become "productive members of a technical-scientific society;" at the same time, they are admonished to reduce the dropout rate of students who are not academically oriented and see little relevance in the material set before them.

It seems essential to find some vantage point from which to view the educational landscape in search of clear and rational educational goals. Kohlberg and Mayer (1972) suggest that educational objectives have been selected through three approaches: (1) the "bag of virtue" approach leading to lists of traits judged desirable, i.e., spontaneity, curiosity, self-discipline; (2) the "industrial psychology" approach leading to skills and knowledge important to the job market, and (3) the developmental approach leading to mental structures and processes that are adaptive and adequate for coping with complexity.

Kohlberg and Mayer clearly favor the developmental approach. This view of education sees learning as growth in the cognitive structures which serve the processing of information. Learning is the development and modification of mental schema through which the individual interprets and thinks about the world.

A number of implications flow from the viewpoint of education as development. The first implication brings into question the notion of a core curriculum, common to all schools and equally useful to all pupils. The knowledge of greatest use may well be the knowledge that is needed in pursuing the immediate inquiry at hand. As inquiries will vary according to the nature and experiences of students, there may, indeed, be no predetermined set of knowledge that everyone has to know. "Essential" knowledge acquired in isolation from the student's experiences and unconnected with the student's pursuits, is likely to remain barren and unincorporated into larger conceptions helpful in understanding future situations.

. . .the ineffectiveness of school reform in the past decade is due, in part, to reliance on a mandated core curriculum and external testing.

A related problem is the rush to cover material, which can load students with words devoid of meaning. Students have been observed marking worksheets to show that Homer is the author of *The Iliad*—in a class that has not read a single sentence of *The Iliad*! To reward a student's ability to pair author and work, without further acquaintance with either, is to make a travesty of education. Even more important, not to understand that reading *The Iliad* has no value apart from the personal meanings the reader makes of it, is to miss the entire point of education.

Almost from the beginning of psychological studies of learning, investigators have stressed the importance of transforming information into knowledge, perceptions, and beliefs. Note Shulman's (1986) observations on the work of cognitive psychologists in this regard:

> Indeed, the essence of any act of learning or problem solving is the active role played by the learner in transforming the ostensible message...of instruction into the learner's own cognitive structures.... Thus, to understand why learners respond (or fail to respond) as they do, ask not what they were taught, but what sense was rendered of what was taught. The consequences of teaching can only be understood as a function of what that teaching stimulates the learner to do with the material. (pp. 16-17)

The view of education as development, with the learner constructing his or her own meanings, stands in stark contrast to a view of education as accumulation of knowledge defined as essential for participation in adult society.

One of Dewey's contributions to education was his insistence that we stop looking at what every adult needs to know and forego trying to give this "essential" knowledge to children. Rather, he suggested that we concentrate on the experiences the child needs in taking the next developmental step at any particular time. Dewey's repeated message was that, to assist children in developing habits of engagement with knowledge and skills in using knowledge, students have to experience the benefits of learning at the time of learning, not at some remote and distant future.

But the reform climate of today makes it difficult for teachers to create conditions in which students feel the benefits of learning at the time the learning is taking place. One teacher remembers her own experiences as a pupil in a four-room school: "If a boy brought in a frog on a particular morning, then we learned about frogs. If it was a cocoon, then the cocoon became the curriculum including all the ways that life gets reproduced and sustained" (Braille, 1990).

The educational reform movement has shown little concern for the context, the purposes, and the processes that help determine how the learners grasp and integrate information. The need to emphasize processes as well as content rests on the fact that information that is not assimilated within the cognitive structures of the student is unlikely to have any impact at all on the individual learner.

Placing faith in curriculum change as a means of educational reform has not attracted support of serious scholars. After reviewing the history of curricular reforms in the American undergraduate curriculum, Veysey (1973) notes that the curriculum, defined as a set of courses, may be a greatly exaggerated element in determining the nature of education.

A corollary of this follows: If one diminishes the importance of a core curriculum common to all schools, then there is no common test appropriate for all, and educational renewal takes on a much more local character:

> . . .a common external examination system is fatal to education. The process of exhibiting the application of knowledge must, for its success, essentially depend on the character of the pupils and the genius of the teacher. . . .
> Primarily it is the schools and not the scholars which should be inspected. Each school should grant its own leaving certificates, based on its own curriculum. The standards of these schools should be sampled and corrected. But the first requisite for educational reform is the school as a unit, with its approved curriculum based on its own needs, and evolved by its own staff. If we fail to secure that, we simply fall from one formalism into another, from one dung-hill of inert ideas into another. (Whitehead, 1929, pp. 21-25)

It is significant that Whitehead should have centered attention for educational reform on the curriculum evolved by the staff of local schools. This recommendation seems a far cry from current efforts at the state and national level to prescribe a curriculum and to monitor results with tests common to all, particularly when one considers the impact of these efforts on teachers, the very people who must, of necessity, be the instruments of educational reform. Nash and Ducharme (1983) observe: "It is ... difficult to imagine most teachers getting excited about administering a national curriculum driven by standardized testing, manpower needs, and uniform texts" (p. 42).

Nash and Ducharme understate the problem. Not only do many of the mandated changes diminish the excitement teachers feel in their work, the reforms hack away at the very foundation of the educational enterprise: the professional role of teachers. Teachers are in the process of surrendering their last claim on the right to create curriculum to meet the needs of the students at hand.

The key to reform within an emerging new perspective is restoring the autonomy of the teacher. The vision of professional teachers exercising autonomy over the ends and means of their craft is a major plank in the reform platform of the Carnegie Forum (1986). When this report was released in San Diego, David Imig wrote, "The most overused phrase in San Diego was 'empowerment' as in 'we must empower teachers to act'" (Imig, 1986, p. 9). But, it is unlikely that "empowerment" can be overused, given the importance of empowering teachers to take charge of instructional programs which have been captured by legislative bodies and state bureaucracies throughout the nation.

The image of teachers playing a much larger role in shaping the directions of education is reflected in Sirotnik's (1987) discussion of school renewal:

> The basic thesis is this: School improvement must take place in schools by and for the people in them; description, judgment, decision making, and action taking regarding improvement efforts require informed inquiry and critical thinking; this evaluative process includes multiple perspectives on what constitutes appropriate knowledge and information; and this process is not a one-shot deal but an ongoing part of the daily worklife of professions involved in their own school improvement efforts. (p. 41)

Sirotnik's suggestions contain two points of note; not only are schools the unit of educational reform, but such schools are marked by a continuous process of examining their own operations and making adjustments to the needs at hand.

It seems unlikely that schools across the nation can, en masse, transform themselves into models of educational reform. Nevertheless, the notion of a few schools acting as demonstration sites has been a recurring idea. Smith and Orlosky (1975) argued for a national program of pilot sites, each site consisting of a cluster of elementary, junior, and senior high schools. Albert Shanker, President of the National Teachers Association, has recommended that each state in the nation designate one or more experimental schools whose teachers would be empowered to throw off all constraints and design curricula and programs that meet the needs of the particular children attending their school.

Designing curriculum for local needs is precisely what one teacher found herself doing when faced with 25 seventh-grade girls in an all black inner-city junior high school:

> There was no commercial seventh-grade curriculum for a group of eleven to fourteen-year-olds who tested at the second- to fifth-grade level. Nor was there any commercial curriculum that integrated all four subjects thematically. And it was clear that, regardless of the curriculum which I had carefully planned, the actual curriculum was that which emerged as the students and I interacted daily. It was a big challenge — and also very stimulating. (Zumwalt, 1988, pp. 168-169)

Goodlad (1987) sees autonomous teachers in schools organized and dedicated to designing programs for their unique school populations as the most hopeful, and the most realistic source for improvement of educational practices.

Sirotnik (1987) suggests that "...the biggest day-to-day repository of constructive power to improve schools is in the hearts, minds and hands of the people who work in them. It is my view that, under the right conditions and circumstances, this resource could be endlessly tapped...." (pp. 43-44).

It is refreshing, in this day of scientific objectivity to find heart, mind, and spirit identified as the sources of creativity for educational reform. But it is precisely the hearts, minds, and spirits of teachers that are most at risk in today's climate of accountability. Lazerson, McLaughlin, McPherson, and Bailey (1985) comment further:

> The present concern for teacher accountability accentuates this difficulty, increasing pressure to measure teacher performance by student test scores. Simplistic and far from inerrant, accountability reinforces the worst tendencies in teaching: teaching for tests, over relying on limited measures of achievement; overvaluing credentials; and stultifying inquiry, experimentation, and reflection. As a means of increasing teachers' willing participation in the improvement of their teaching, accountability is not a very promising incentive. (pp. 107-108)

A much more promising incentive for innovation may lie in partnerships between schools and universities. Both the Holmes Group (1986) and the Carnegie Forum (1986) foresee collaborative arrangements between schools and universities in which teachers can bridge theory and practice much as do interns and residents in teaching hospitals. Wild and Pascarelli (1987) describe the sustained focus on school improvement achieved through a school-university collaboration.

No mistake should be made that collaborations are easy or that they provide a quick fix. Collaborations make possible the gradual, and frequently painful, evolution of best practices. Our own experience with collaborations led to the following observations:

> . . .it seems likely that university faculty will be motivated by theoretical and idealistic notions that will collide with the more realistic and practical orientations of teachers. It is important to anticipate these clashes and to adopt a commitment to long-term relationships that will survive tactical victories and defeats. Within these relationships beliefs are forged and tested as joint ventures of teachers, students and professors. The essential work of collaborations will be gutsy, intensely human, emotionally laden experiences. Lanier (1983) likens collaborations to marriages, an analogy which helps us appreciate acceptance of short term frustrations in view of more lasting benefits. Among the lasting benefits of collaborations for school people is continuing staff renewal, for universities, clinical sites for the preparation of teachers and test beds for alternative conceptions of instruction. (McDaniel, 1988-89, p. 7)

It is important for those interested in school improvement to remember that curriculum development is, at base, staff development. The locus of change resides in the belief systems of the teacher and the teacher's ability to make those beliefs manifest in behavior. Richardson (1990) provides a telling negative example of a teacher using prereading questions in order to develop an inquisitive mind set for a story the children are to read. The teachers completely spoiled the process by letting students know that they were making errors in their picture reading. The correct answers were in the story which the students had not yet read, but which the teacher had. Interviews revealed that the teacher believed that teaching reading was a matter of getting the correct meaning from texts.

Richardson's report grows out of a three-year project supported by the U. S. Department of Education in which university and school personnel worked to combine research findings and practical knowledge in improving reading instruction. One of her observations returns us to our original theme, that relaxing a number of external and institutional constraints is an essential step in mobilizing the thinking of practitioners in the service of improving instruction:

> As long as the district imposed the use of basal readers and their workbooks, for example, the teachers did not have to face up to their internal conflict between the sense that basals provide an easy way to plan for reading and maintain control over students, and the belief that the basals are not the best material for teaching reading. (p. 16.)

Perhaps Sirotnik speaks for most of us in summarizing the past decade of reform and looking toward the future. He observed:

> The 1980s began yet another cycle of seeing schools...both as scapegoats for society's ills and as sources of salvation in the search for the cures. The recent parade of state and federal reports and recommendations for reform, in my view, offer only more of the same — more time, more homework, more courses, more testing, more standards, more accountability — all within the same old conditions and circumstances of teaching. What we need more of are the requisite commitments and resources to allow educators to exercise the best of their intentions, to engage in the dialogue necessary for reconceptualizing and reconstructing schooling for the twenty-first century. (p. 58)

. . .reforms hack away at the very foundation of the educational enterprise: the professional role of teachers.

If this is the goal, to allow those closest to the education of children to rethink and rebuild schooling, then what is the role of local, state, and federal leadership?

Local school executives can place the demands for high achievement and accountability in a larger perspective and can shield their teachers from unreasoned aspirations while searching for better grounded ways of engaging teachers in the long, slow process of school renewal.

State legislatures and departments of education should turn their attention toward cultivation of conditions that stimulate, encourage, and empower schools to define their own reform agendas. Goodlad (1987) recommends redesigning a sufficient number of schools to serve as exemplary sites for the education of teachers and the revitalizing of teacher education. If future teachers are to become reflective decision makers, then this role has to be modeled in the schools in which intending teachers do their observations and practice teaching.

Frazier (1987), himself a chief state school officer, indicates both the opportunity and the challenge facing policy makers involved in formulating new patterns for school renewal:

> A new state role needs to emerge from the present, overly directive pattern of educational reform. If a nurturing role fails to evolve, the system could well experience an internal decaying that eventually leads to yet another shift in the locus of power. This time the transfer will not be to the federal or local level but rather to new structures or delivery systems having a power base driven by the individual consumer. The message should be obvious. Those persons seeking to implement significant educational change must be aware of their obligation to do this in a framework of research, inquiry, openness, and collaboration to the end that all levels of the system are strengthened or the change agents themselves will undermine the existence of the system. (p. 116)

As educational leaders assess their next moves, the first order of business should be building new cooperative relationships that eliminate the tug-of-war between teachers and local, state, and federal mandates. These relationships will flourish if they reflect a closer consensus on the ends and means of education. The old assumptions about teaching as telling, learning as accumulation, and knowledge as facts will have to give way to more sophisticated views of the cognitive processes that undergird mental development.

Given greater goal clarity, local, state, and federal policy can encourage innovation and provide resources for demonstration schools. Such sites will exhibit great diversity; inner-city schools will try programs that would be inappropriate for rural settings and vice versa.

Policy makers at all levels need to shift their sights from the most obvious feature of education—the subject matter content—to the less obvious matter of how teachers use content to help students grow. Teachers must also confront the questions of how content can be used to facilitate student growth and cognitive development. Developing new instructional strategies will require some relief for teachers from the relentless pressure to prepare the next day's lessons, the stultifying isolation from their colleagues, and external prescriptions of their objectives. Business and industrial leaders may come to see that changes in schooling are, at base, changes in the way teachers perceive

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and execute their roles. There is need for corporate support for long-term ventures in which teachers reexamine their beliefs and rekindle their idealism about the possibilities inherent in education. Above all, the popular battle cry for accountability—which has fueled a number of dysfunctional reform policies—must be replaced by a more steady commitment to nurturance, and a consideration of the conditions that will cultivate the deepest concerns and best thinking of those who now care for our youth.

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The Experiences of State Departments of Education in School/College Collaboration: Lessons for School Executives

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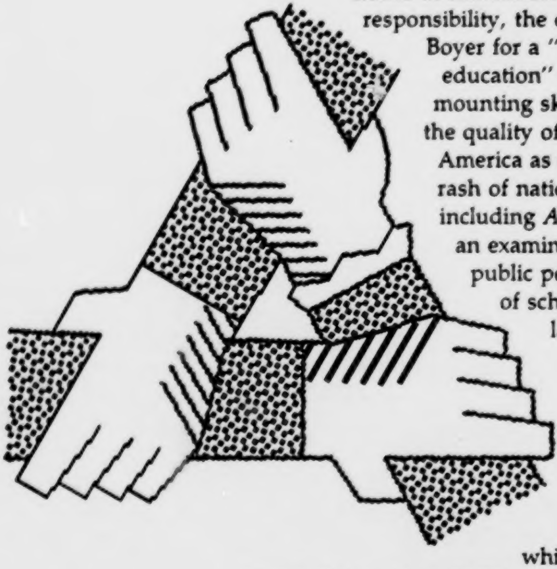
The body of literature on collaboration between schools and postsecondary institutions initiated and sustained on the local level has expanded through the 1980s (e.g., Daly, 1985; Sirotnik & Goodlad, 1988; Trubowitz, 1984). Primarily case studies, this literature offers guidance for practitioners in areas in which school/college collaboration has been effective. Examples include early continuing intervention to increase minority students participation in higher education (Smith, 1985) and curriculum development by secondary school teachers and college instructors (Gaudiani & Burnett, 1985/6). These efforts were frequently initiated by postsecondary institutions and occasionally by school personnel.

Two striking aspects of the literature are the enthusiasm of public school teachers and students in participating in many collaborative ventures, characterized in part by a shared planning approach, and the infrequency with which collaborative efforts have been initiated by principals and superintendents. Given the growing interest in collaboration to address issues of mutual concern and responsibility, the call by Ernest Boyer for a "seamless web of education" (1983), and the mounting skepticism about the quality of education in America as evidenced by a rash of national reports, including *A Nation at Risk*—an examination of the public policy implications of school/college collaboration was in order.



The purpose of this 1987 study was to investigate the extent to which state departments of education (SDEs) view school/college collaboration as a viable strategy to improve school performance. The study addresses SDE involvement in collaboration with regard to funding, the types of undertakings, the kinds of assistance the SDEs provided, how they promoted collaboration within their states, and how they organized themselves to engage in these activities.

State departments of education historically have offered strong direction to local districts and have the potential to support collaboration between local schools and colleges with funds, personnel, and other resources. State education departments were selected as the object of the study because they have a range of options available that can influence and even mandate the behavior of individuals and groups within their sphere of control (see Coleman, 1989).

This study shows the ways in which the SDEs have promoted and sustained local collaborations. In addition, the results of the research suggest opportunities that are available to public school administrators to provide local leadership that can both develop new and support ongoing collaboration in their school systems. The reported activities of the SDEs can be viewed as a beginning that local school executives can help to foster. Furthermore, local leaders can draw upon the bases for collaboration established in their own state departments of education for ideas, assistance, and support.

Why Collaborate? The decentralized delivery of education in the United States can be viewed as a rich resource for cooperation, communication, and collegiality or as a source of dissension and conflict. All too often, opportunities have been neglected. For many, such lost opportunities are viewed as too costly to revive.

To improve the delivery of educational services, we need to close the gaps that exist between different levels of education—K-12 systems and colleges and universities—by establishing structures and defining shared purposes that will promote ongoing discussions that help students enter into the "system" and then exit successfully. Communication across historical institutional borders appears to have taken root in American education (Gifford, 1986). For example, even in 1983, 64 percent of institutions in the American Association of State Colleges and Universities were found to be involved in some way with public schools in their areas (Roberts, 1985). *School/college collaboration as used here is a joint venture by school(s) and college(s) in which planning is collegial, purposes are shared, and responsibility is collective.* Each participating organization contributes personnel, space, funds, and students as needs arise. Collaboration is a strategy or approach to problem-solving and can be used to address a variety of issues. Ultimately, collaboration is undertaken because a single agency, school, or institution cannot remedy alone some existing problem.

Exciting new opportunities for collaboration have presented themselves; these include confederations for developing programs of excellence, joint establishment of academic and transfer standards, programs for accelerating students, and creative endeavors in teacher preparation (Maeroff, 1983). The grim statistics that show lack of educational access and lower school completion rates by minority and disadvantaged young people, as announced daily in the media, indicate an irrefutable need for cooperation. As a society we need to find and act upon successful solutions to the problems associated with retaining and graduating minority and disadvantaged students at all levels of our educational system. Indeed educational access and equity demand a unified approach, with both K-12 and postsecondary education personnel acting as equal participants in problem-solving on issues of mutual responsibility.

Challenges to Collaboration. Collaborative undertakings face certain problems. Interinstitutional efforts are almost always peripheral activities for participants who generally have heavy alternative demands on their time. Furthermore, collaborations can be fragile because the knowledge level of participants can vary significantly, requiring shared education and tact (Sirotnik & Goodlad, 1988; Yaeger & Henry, 1984). Thus, collaborations are often short-lived, limited in scope, and require constant fine-tuning.

One way to help these efforts to persist is for a third party to observe, monitor, and support local collaborative efforts. State agencies can play a significant third-party role.

Study of State Departments of Education

Purposes of the Study. A study conducted in 1987 examined the public policy initiatives directed toward matching colleges and universities with K-12 schools and systems in order to span the divisions between these entities. Superintendents and commissioners of the fifty state departments of education and the District of Columbia were surveyed (N = 51).

Respondents were asked to report on their involvement in school/college collaboration with respect to funding sources and amounts, purposes for which the collaborative relationships were formed, types of activities in which these collaborations were engaged, organizational structure/responsibility, kinds of technical assistance provided to collaborative efforts, types of dissemination activities, evaluations of these projects, and future plans.

Study Limitations. School/college collaboration is a strategy that can be used by a variety of divisions in an SDE. Therefore, the data may be biased, if the respondents completed the questionnaire from the perspective of their own divisions only, rather than from an agency-wide perspective.[1] The data, therefore, represent an incomplete picture of SDE use and support of collaboration. Therefore, estimates of activity may well underrepresent actual activity across the states.

Respondents. Responses were received from 41 state departments of education (response rate 80%). One respondent was unable to complete the questionnaire and referred the materials to the state higher education agency. Therefore, 40 responses (78%) were used in the analysis. There appeared to be no response bias with respect to geography, population, or other relevant characteristics.

Findings

Funding. The Far Northwest exhibited the most consistent regional interest in the financial investment in collaboration by state departments of education. There were no other strong regional differences. Fifty percent of the responding education departments neither allocated funds nor designated an office for this kind of work. Funding for collaboration was more likely designated in state departments of education where an office had been assigned responsibility for that function.

Forty-three percent of the departments reported that funds were provided for schools and colleges to work together. Funds ranged from $5,000 to $2.5 million, with most SDE's reporting less than $60,000. No pattern of change was expected in future funding. When states did allocate monies for this purpose, the funds were primarily focused on transitional activities for vocational-technical education, especially with respect to articulation between secondary schools and two-year colleges. States reporting considerable attention in this area were Rhode Island, Michigan, and Oregon, each of which allocated between $5,000 and $500,000 in FY87 with some expected increases in FY88. Because funding for these projects is often diffused throughout several divisions of each state department of education, these figures are not definitive.

. . .collaboration remains largely a local not a state-wide interest.

Types of Programs. Teacher in-service programs were the most frequently cited collaborative activities funded by state departments of education. Science and math programs for secondary students ranked second. The use of state funds for collaborative efforts on behalf of science and math or any academic program for elementary school students was virtually absent, although several states used federal funds for these programs. No SDE reported funded activities to support collaboration for college and university faculty development. In part this suggests that state education departments have not seen the value of college faculty members learning with and from K-12 teachers and administrators. Although it appears that university faculty members generally would resist state department of education-sponsored development activities, the presence of alliances in specific disciplines (Gaudiani & Burnett, 1985/6) is testimony to the potential for shared learning by faculty members in secondary and in postsecondary education.

As noted above, the failure of our educational institutions to sustain and graduate minority students is a most pressing educational problem. Eight state agencies were actively instigating the formation of coordinated programs for minority retention[2] and graduation in colleges and universities, while ten states are funding collaborative programs for the retention of minority students in secondary schools.

Technical Assistance. Twenty-five SDEs (63%) indicated that they provide technical assistance for collaboration. Only two responded that they do not provide help in forming collaborative relations. As a rule, states that help form such collaboration also reported helping to maintain it. Two states charged local districts for technical assistance. In many of the states, the initiative for the collaborative is clearly local; technical assistance appears to be made upon request, rather than as an offered service.

Dissemination. Communication is a particularly important element for fine-tuning collaborative efforts. State agencies are employing a range of strategies to communicate collaborative and other activities by local school districts and area colleges and universities as well as those collaborative activities in which the state agency takes a part. Dissemination activities reported by slightly more than half the responding SDEs (55%) included the use of newsletters, although these were not specifically for collaboration. Press releases (N = 16) and conferences (N = 17) are also used to share information about cooperative activities. In addition, some SDEs reported using brochures and booklets that described ongoing collaborative activities in their states to inform interested parties. One SDE reported the use of existing networks throughout the states for the dissemination of information. Two reported the use of computer conferencing, and a third indicated planning to do so (Haller, 1985; Heydinger, 1978).

Several SDEs sponsored conferences that involved K-12 and higher education faculty, staff, and administrators throughout individual states. Conferences have the capacity to serve as conduits of information about existing collaborative efforts, recognizing excellence and accomplishment, and teaching novices about beginning and fostering collaborative relationships. Through these face-to-face contacts, issues can be raised and innovative strategies developed that can be carried forth after the conference concludes.

Organizational Structure. Approximately one-third of the state departments of education had established special offices to coordinate school/college collaboration. These offices were primarily those of professional development, school support, or certification, with 25 SDEs (63%) reporting no focus of responsibility for collaboration. California and New York have state-level units specifically addressing primary, secondary, and higher education in their states. In the California Department of Education, the Division of Intersegmental Relations is charged with the responsibility to work with higher education, business and community organizations, and state commissions, such as student aid and teacher credentialing.

In New York, the Division of Postsecondary Equity and Access Programs coordinates that state's SDE programs and activities in the areas of equity and access in higher education. Established in 1987, this office offers a plethora of programs including grants, scholarships, loan forgiveness, internships, support programs, enrichment programs for minority students, and teacher training programs. All are designed to improve access and retention at the undergraduate, graduate, and professional levels for minority students. Similarly, crossing traditional boundaries, the Science and Technology Entry Program (STEP), initiated in 1985 by the New York state legislature and administered by the SDE's Bureau of Professional Career Opportunity Programs, awards contracts to New York's postsecondary education institutions which must provide a minimum of 25% matching funds. To be eligible for the award, the postsecondary institution must be geographically situated to allow ready access to a school district with a minimum 20% minority enrollment. Communication between sponsoring colleges and universities and local school districts is promoted through this program. University personnel teach and advise secondary school students. Designed to "assist underrepresented minority or economically disadvantaged secondary school students to acquire the skills needed to undertake collegiate study in scientific, technical, and health-related fields" (Science and Technology Entry Program, Annual Report, 1988-89, p. vi), the program is meeting with considerable success.

. . .Initiating and sustaining working relationships across institutional boundaries requires executive leadership. . .

Under the aegis of some SDEs, state-wide committees with representatives from both K-12 and the collegiate levels have been developed. Some are multi-purpose and others are single purpose.

Highlights of State Action. SDEs are deeply involved in school/college collaboration in many different ways. The Tennessee state-wide School-College Collaborative For Education Excellence is an example of the kind of state department initiative that promises continuing commitment to common goals from different segments of the educational community within a state. Started in 1985, the Tennessee Collaborative seeks to "integrate the Basic Academic Competencies and Subjects into high school curricula; to clarify college teachers' expectations for entering freshmen; and to assure that the competencies are prerequisites for college-level courses" *(Tennessee,* 1986).

One set of activities in which the Tennessee Collaborative is engaged is the establishment of three Executive Committees, one each for science, mathematics, and English. Members of each committee include faculty members and staff from the University of Tennessee, high school teachers in the respective areas, and staff from the State Department of Education and the State Board of Regents. Funding for the Collaborative-supported activities has been available, e.g., ($800,000, FY86). Extensive dissemination approaches, such as conferences, a newsletter, and production of videotapes, have been included in the master plan *(Tennessee,* 1986). Since the structure is in place, Tennesseeans are likely to continue to work collaboratively to confront issues as they appear.

A number of other SDEs also have reported collaborative initiatives, as summarized below.

The Florida Department of Education provides funds for the support of collaborative programs in the areas of mathematics, science, and computer education. The Missouri Excellence in Education Act of 1985 specifically addresses school/college collaboration by establishing a state-wide professional development committee. This committee develops voluntary guidelines for schools and colleges to employ in assisting new teachers.

The North Dakota Department of Public Instruction has a state-wide school/college collaboration project, "School to College Project," with participants from colleges, high schools, and the Department of Public Instruction. This group oversees ten regional teacher learning centers.

In Oregon, a SDE advisory committee, The Cooperative Personnel Planning Council, was instrumental in founding the Oregon Cooperative Council for the Development of Professionals in Special Education. The two groups sponsor summer training institutes in special education, joint policy discussions, and proposals for federal grants in the area of special education. In Washington, Program Units, whose members represent colleges, school districts, and professional organizations, jointly study and propose action on minority access to and retention in colleges and universities as well as college faculty development issues and teacher education. The state department of education provides grants for cooperative activities for training programs that lead to certification.

As a small state, West Virginia works informally across agency and institutional boundaries and formally requires representation from higher education on county staff development councils on issues of common interest to all interested schools and colleges. Higher education and SDE staff meet jointly throughout the year, expecting that their spirit of cooperation will trickle down to the institutional/district level. State-wide cooperative efforts have been established as a strong theme in every participating area in West Virginia.

Summary

Many state departments of education have become engaged in formally bringing schools and colleges to work together, but this interest is not universal. In some cases, the SDEs model collaboration by themselves engaging in collaboration with state higher education agency personnel and/or college and university personnel. As of 1987, most state departments of education had not assigned organizational responsibility for these kinds of activities either through a specified office or through designated personnel. However, what can occur in states such as Tennessee, this seems to be a missed opportunity to bring together in one office the multitude of potential activities and opportunities for school/college collaboration. This suggests that such collaboration remains largely a local not a state-wide interest.

The foci for the existing collaborations, however, remains in the context of traditional areas such as articulation, certification, teacher education, and professional development of K-12 teachers (and in some cases administrators), with considerable attention to vocational-technical education. State departments of education expressed limited interest in collaborations to address collegiate issues, in which K-12 faculty members and administrators could solve problems in concert with collegiate faculty members and administrators. Thus state education departments have an as yet unrealized potential to provide a striking reversal to patterns of ruptured student progress through the "systems." Such patterns are costly to students, parents, teachers, and society.

Overall, there were three dominant modes of assistance provided by SDEs to promote school/college collaboration. First, there was funding provided for programs in specific disciplinary areas, e.g., math and science, as in Florida, or vocational education, as in Michigan. Second, the SDEs formed state-wide committees to study particular areas, e.g., professional development (MO), learning assistance centers (ND), and minority access (WA). All these promise positive outcomes.

Finally, many state departments of education were disseminating news of successful activities by local and regional school/college collaborations such as North Dakota's annual state conference on school/college collaboration. Other helpful communication modes include the use of computer conferencing and brochures. Often the news of successful efforts is being incorporated into routine SDE newsletters. The diversity in approaches in this study suggest, too, the importance of adapting collaborative structures, funding, and assistance to idiosyncratic state modes of operation.

Conclusions and Recommendations

SDE interest and activities gives increased legitimacy to the use of collaboration as a means to enhance teaching, learning, and the delivery of services so that students are well-served and achieve their potential. Further, school executives interested in collaboration might view the SDE in their own states as a resource from which to draw support. As discussed above, SDE involvement in collaboration can be very important to local collaborative work, and local leadership can call upon their SDEs; nevertheless, local collaborations are possible and viable without any defined SDE role.

Given the extent of involvement and interest in collaboration evidenced by SDEs, school leaders can see school/college collaboration as a viable strategy in their local efforts to help children, youth, and families. Local school leaders can play several roles parallel to those played by the SDEs. Each of these roles can be instrumental in promoting school/college collaboration. The first role is initiator; the second is leader, the third is provider; the fourth is cheerleader-fan; and the fifth is agent.

As the initiator, a school executive can identify a need in the school or district and invite area postsecondary school faculty and/or administrators to meet with local administrators and teachers to develop strategies to meet the specified need. The findings reported here can assist local school leaders in selecting problems that have been successfully addressed through collaboration elsewhere. Of particular note are the transitional programs, frequently targeted to minority students, which ease students' academic movement through the schools and into college through enrichment programs, confidence building programs, and basic skills training. These programs often directly involve both school and college personnel working together to plan, implement, and evaluate the progress of the students.

Related to the initiator role, the school executive can act as leader by chairing a collaboration group and/or by being an "idea person" who sets direction for the work at hand. The continuing cooperation, support, and interest of school superintendents and college presidents can add richly to the accomplishments of collaborative efforts. A shared problem is an excellent basis on which a school executive might begin and/or continue collegial relationships with local community college, college, and university executives—relationships that have ramifications beyond a specific collaborative undertaking. Indeed, initiating and sustaining working relationships across institutional boundaries requires executive leadership and support from all involved organizations.

As providers, superintendents and principals can directly make available resources that support the activities of the collaboration. Teachers often need time—release time—to work on collaborative project(s). Space for materials, instruction, and meetings are often needed and not always readily obtainable. Assigning appropriate professional administrators to either lead or assist in collaborative efforts can make a difference; supplying clerical assistance can make a substantial contribution to the viability and endurance of these efforts. Ensuring that evaluation of school/college collaboration assignments is conducted can build a foundation for additional external funding and can provide data for the executive's cheerleader-fan role.

The executive cheerleader-fan promotes the idea of collaboration in public forums, gives widespread recognition to ongoing collaborative efforts through awards, rewards, and dissemination of information about the work of collaborating colleagues and the achievements of students and families that have resulted from the collaborative work. Administrators can use existing collaborative projects as models for fostering additional efforts, when appropriate.

The agent role allows the executive to act as a liaison in providing assistance to collaboratives in acquiring external resources from the SDEs, private foundations, and through federal grants. Administrators also can frequently play an advocacy role in the public policy process and can encourage state funding when collaborative efforts can be demonstrated, through careful evaluation, as providing effective services that improve educational opportunities for children and youth.

In conclusion, professionals with experience in working with colleagues from other buildings, other systems, and other delivery systems are a resource for generating creative solutions to other challenges confronting educators. Children will benefit, families will be supported, and teachers will have the opportunity to rededicate themselves to their professional commitment through work on constructive and positive efforts.

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Footnotes

[1] While the survey was sent to the chief executive of each SDE, frequently other personnel completed the form.

[2] "Retention" has different meanings in the K-12 and postsecondary contexts. To "retain" in K-12 is to hold back. In colleges and universities, "retain" means preventing students from dropping out. The discrepancy is an example of a need for open communication between elementary and secondary and postsecondary education professionals. Retention as used here means to sustain students to complete their education, e.g., earn a diploma or degree.

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The Legal Aspects of Discipline of Students With Disabilities

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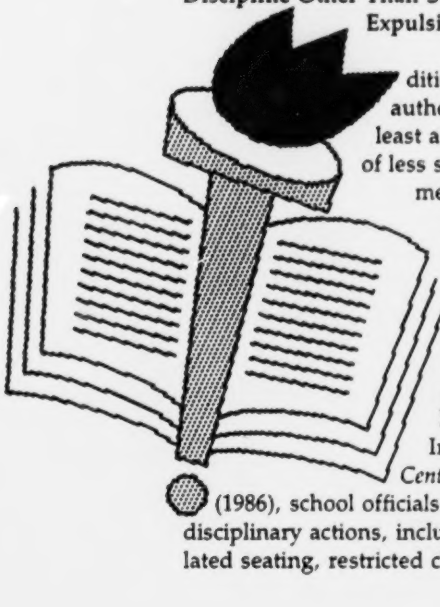
The discipline of students with disabilities in the public schools involves two major federal statutes. Each of these (and their accompanying regulations) must be consulted in determining the total impact on school official authority. Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 prohibits discrimination against handicapped persons by agencies that receive federal funds, while the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (EAHCA), incorporating P.L. 94-142, requires all states applying for and receiving federal money under the Act to provide special education programs and services to handicapped children. Under the EAHCA, students with disabilities are entitled to special education if their state of residence receives federal money under the Act, and there are no exceptions to the entitlement made for handicapped children who misbehave in school. Thus, an obvious tension exists between the statutory rights of handicapped children and school officials' traditional latitude in maintaining order in school. It is critical that school officials be aware of the results of the several dozen court decisions and administrative rulings interpreting these laws and the implications they have for traditional school discipline. This is especially true given the impetus to more fully mainstream students with disabilities. This article outlines what we know about the way federal laws dealing with students with disabilities have altered the discretion school officials have in dealing with student misconduct.

Discipline Other Than Suspension or Expulsion



School officials' traditional discretionary authority over discipline is least affected in those areas of less severe student punishment, such as corporal punishment and detention.

Only a few court rulings have expressly addressed issues of minor discipline as it relates to handicapped students. In *Cole v. Greenfield - Central Community Schools* (1986), school officials successfully defended disciplinary actions, including paddling, isolated seating, restricted class field trips, and taping the mouth shut, which had been applied to a hyperactive and emotionally disturbed elementary student who was excessively disruptive in the classroom. The court noted that mainstreaming the problem student established the teacher's responsibility to maintain a classroom environment conducive to learning for all students. The court underscored the concept that handicapped students are not entitled to unique or special exemptions from administration of minor disciplinary punishment so long as nonhandicapped students are subject to the same types of discipline.

Several courts have upheld the use of in-school suspensions and time-out rooms. In *Hayes v. Unified School District No. 377* (1987), a federal district court in Kansas upheld the use of in-school suspensions for up to five days even though the suspension time was served in a 3-foot by 5-foot time out room. (See also, *Dickens v. Johnson County Board of Education*, 1987; *Wise v. Pea Ridge School District*, 1988). Other courts have indicated indirectly that lesser forms of discipline are not precluded by federal law (e.g., *Doe v. Maher*, 1986, pp. 1484-86). In one ruling the Supreme Court noted in a statement that was not directly part of its ruling, that schools may use "study carrels [presumably isolation], time outs, detention, or the restriction of privileges" *(Honig v. Doe*, 1988, p. 605; see also, comment to 34 C.F.R. § 300.513).

Some schools have run afoul of the laws governing handicapped students by instigating unilateral changes in educational programs as a result of disciplinary problems. Reducing or changing a program for disciplinary reasons is appropriate so long as officials follow correct placement procedures, including parental involvement. Serious problems for schools can occur when administrators make unilateral changes which result in a significant alteration of a special education program. Reducing a full-time program to a half-time program on grounds of misconduct has been ruled to require full parental procedural rights *(School Board v. Malone*, 1985; *Doe v. Maher*, 1986). An involuntary transfer from a classroom program to a homebound program for disciplinary reasons has had the same result *(Lamont X. v. Quisenberry*, 1984; *Blue v. New Haven Bd. of Educ.*, 1981). Schools cannot abdicate responsibility for providing special education by

. . .an obvious tension exists between the statutory rights of handicapped children and school officials' traditional latitude in maintaining order in school.

dropping students from the school rolls (*Howard S. v. Friendswood*, 1978), and cannot deny statutory rights to a student who voluntarily withdrew from the school and is denied readmittance for disciplinary reasons (*S-1 v. Turlington*, 1981).

The handicapped status of a student is frequently a question in issues of discipline of students not identified as handicapped. The only court ruling clearly made on this point stated that it would not be legal to treat a student as handicapped unless appropriate evaluation and identification procedures had not been completed. In *Mrs. A.J. v. Special School District, No. 1* (1979), a parent complained that her daughter was improperly suspended for 15 days when it was subsequently determined that she was handicapped. Although the parent had signed a consent form for evaluation, the student was suspended before the evaluation was completed. When the evaluation report was completed, it was determined that the girl was handicapped. The court ruled that since the student had not been formally identified as handicapped at the time of the suspension, school officials were under no obligation to treat her as handicapped—and that to do so would constitute a violation of the statues governing the identification and classification of handicapped students.

When faced with discipline of handicapped students for minor disciplinary infractions, school administrators should assure themselves that (1) nonhandicapped and handicapped students are subjected to the same treatment, (2) the discipline is reasonable under the circumstances, and (3) modifications in programming occur outside the individual education program (IEP) development process only if the modification does not result in a significant change in placement.

Expulsions

Law's greatest impact on school official discretion in the discipline of handicapped students is clearly in the area of expulsion. However, only one of the myriad of legal issues existing under the federal statutes has been resolved by the Supreme Court. That case involved the narrow issue of whether a school could unilaterally remove a student from school for disciplinary reasons after the parents had filed an appeal of a proposed expulsion. In the lower court handling of the case (*Doe v. Maher*, 1986), the ninth circuit ruled that schools could not unilaterally remove two emotionally handicapped students with tendencies toward aggressive behavior pending the outcome of parental appeals.

In upholding the ninth circuit decision in *Honig v. Doe* (1988), the Supreme Court minced no words in responding to the argument that school districts were not meant by Congress to be bound by the "stay put" provision (34 C.F.R. § 300.513) when dealing with dangerous and violent students.

> We think it clear, however, that Congress very much meant to strip schools of the *unilateral* authority they had traditionally employed to exclude disabled students, particularly emotionally disturbed students, from school. In so doing, Congress did not leave school administrators powerless to deal with dangerous students; it did, however deny school officials their former right to "self-help," and directed that in the future the removal of disabled students could be accomplished only with the permission of the parents, or, as a last resort, the courts. (emphasis original) (p. 604)

The Court held that the "stay put" provision meant exactly what it said, as far as unilateral school action was concerned. It did point out, however, that schools were not "hamstrung" by its ruling, and noted that the EAHCA provides for changes in placement when the parents and school mutually agree. When they do not agree, the school may use lesser disciplinary approaches, including short fixed-term suspensions not to exceed 10 school days. In situations where a 10-day period is not adequate to gain parental agreement for a placement, or an alternative appropriate placement has not been found, the school can petition a court for an injunction prohibiting the student from immediately returning to school. (The courts are not bound by the "stay put"provision, only school officials.) The Court made it clear, however, that in such situations, a heavy presumption exists favoring the student's then current education placement which school officials can overcome only by showing that the child is likely to injure himself or herself or others if maintained in that placement (*Honig v. Doe*, 1988, p. 606).

An injunction to preclude a student from reentering school in such a situation was issued by a federal district court in *Board of Education v. Corral* (1989). The case involved a 17-year-old male student who was "autistic and behavior-disordered." The evidence established that the student exhibited very little control over his own conduct and on two occasions had seized and sexually fondled female staff members and had to be forcibly separated from them. In the same period he also engaged in self-abusive behavior by "bouncing" off classroom walls and provoking a classmate to attack him. A similar result occurred in *Board of Education v. Kurtz-Imig* (1989). That case involved a high school student who had violently attacked others at school and had threatened to kill staff members and students.

While the Supreme Court has not ruled on other issues of expulsion of handicapped students, a number of lower courts have. They agree on some of the issues and disagree on others. The courts are in unanimous agreement that students may not be expelled if their misconduct is a manifestation of their handicap. In a leading decision entitled *Doe v. Maher* (1986), the ninth circuit struck down a California statute governing student expulsions because it did not exclude coverage of handicap-related misconduct. The court reasoned that denial of special education programs and services cannot be based on circumstances caused by the same handicapping condition that originally entitled the child to special education. Other decisions accepting this view include *Kaelin v. Grubbs* (1982), *School Board v. Malone* (1985), *Doe v. Koger* (1979), *Stuart v. Nappi* (1978), and was stipulated by the parties in the important ruling in *S-1 v. Turlington* (1981).

Court rulings are also in general agreement that determining whether misconduct is a manifestation of a handicap is to be decided by the staffing team of professionals and parents (e.g., *Doe v. Maher,* 1988). This is the same group of persons that also determines the appropriateness of programming and services. Courts have expressly rejected arguments that such decisions should be made by traditional school decision makers such as superintendents (*S-1 v. Turlington,* 1981) and school boards (*School Board v. Malone,* 1985).

The fifth circuit has expressly ruled that school officials bear the burden of establishing whether a student's misconduct is a manifestation of a handicap. In *S-1 v. Turlington* (1981), the court concluded that it would be unfair to place the burden of showing no relationship on the parents. The court stated that this ruling was appropriate because of the remedial nature of the EAHCA and because most parents "lack the wherewithal" to assert their rights under law.

In *Doe v. Maher* (1986), the ninth circuit ruled that staffing team decisions on determinations of manifestations were to be made on the basis of consensus. If the parents do not agree, staffing team professionals should proceed with a proposed decision and provide the parents with an opportunity to appeal. The court wisely rejected an argument that majority vote should control staffing team decisions. It noted that federal regulations authorized both parents and schools to invite unlimited numbers of persons to staffing team meetings and, thus, either side could unfairly "stack the deck."

The courts are in unanimous agreement under Section 504 and the EAHCA that expulsion is a change in placement (e.g., *S-1 v. Turlington,* 1981; *Doe v. Maher,* 1986). The importance of such a determination is that a number of legally prescribed procedures must be followed when changes in placement are being contemplated.

(1) A detailed written notice of the proposed change (expulsion) must be provided to the child's parents.

(2) The staffing team of parents and educators must meet to determine whether the child's handicap is related to the misconduct and whether the current placement is appropriate.

(3) A reevaluation of the student's educational needs must be completed.

(4) The parents must be notified of their rights under the EAHCA, including the right to file an appeal and obtain an impartial administrative hearing and possible subsequent judicial review.

(5) In the event an appeal is filed, the child must be allowed to remain in the then-current educational placement pending appeal results (e.g., *Doe v. Maher,* 1986).

This position has also been adopted by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR), the federal agency responsible for interpreting Section 504 and monitoring compliance, and is enumerated in an October 28, 1988 policy statement (Daniels to OCR Senior Staff, 1988).

Court rulings and administrative interpretations do not agree on several issues involving the expulsion of handicapped students, including the issue of the availability of expulsion when the misconduct is not a manifestation of the handicap. The ninth circuit ruled in *Doe v. Maher* (1986) that all education programs could be stopped when it is properly determined that a handicapped child's misbehavior is not a manifestation of the handicap. (See also *Doe v. Koger,* 1979.) In interpreting Section 504, OCR has followed the ninth circuit opinion, and stated that all educational services for a handicapped child may be ceased when the child is expelled from school for misconduct not caused by a handicap (Daniels to OCR Senior Staff, 1988).

The OCR ruling expressly excluded this provision from coverage in the six southeastern states in the jurisdiction of the former fifth circuit. The reason that these states were excluded is that the fifth circuit decision in *S-1 v. Turlington* (1981) held that handicapped students may be expelled from school when misconduct is not related to their handicapping condition. However, expulsion could not result in a complete end of special education programs and services. The sixth circuit noted approval of the position taken in *S-1* in *Kaelin v. Grubbs* (1982, p. 602).

. . .determining whether misconduct is a manifestation of a handicap is to be decided by the staffing team of professionals and parents. . .

The Office of Special Education Programs of the Department of Education (OSEP), the federal agency responsible for interpreting and compliance monitoring under the EAHCA, has recently issued a ruling in agreement with *S-1 v. Turlington* (1981) and opposed to the position taken by the ninth circuit and the OCR. The ruling notes that the OCR has interpretive and enforcement jurisdiction over Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, but that OSEP has exclusive administrative jurisdiction over the EAHCA. In exercising its jurisdiction, OSEP ruled that the EAHCA requires states receiving funding under the Act to ensure that all handicapped children, without exception, receive a free appropriate public education. It concluded that Congress did not intend an exception for students removed from schools as a result of behavioral problems, and ruled that states receiving funds under the Act were obligated by statute to provide handicapped children with educational services, "including during those periods of long-term suspension or expulsion where such disciplinary action results from misbehavior that is not a manifestation of the child's handicap" (Davila to New, 1989). A law suit has been filed in Indiana apparently challenging this interpretation *(Highlights,* 1990). In a subsequent policy interpretation, the Department of Education concluded that the ninth circuit ruling on the issue in *Doe v. Maher* (1986) was dicta, and cessation of special education services to expelled students in the West Coast states under authority of that ruling would violate the EAHCA (Davila to Davis, 1990).

While the administrative interpretations are conflicting in result, it must be remembered that the OCR interpretation expressly covers Section 504 and the OSEP interpretation covers the EAHCA, two different federal statutes. The administrative interpretations are thus not in direct conflict and both must be considered if schools do not wish to be cited for violations by those respective agencies. Meeting the requirements of Section 504 does not mean a school is automatically in compliance with the EAHCA. The difficulty is compounded on the West Coast where the OSEP interpretation is in direct conflict with the ninth circuit ruling in *Doe v. Maher* (1986).

A second important issue on which the interpretations do not agree is the degree of manifestation required to be present before misconduct is considered to be a result of the handicap. In a footnote in the *Doe v. Maher* (1986, p. 1480) ruling, the ninth circuit made it clear that when it referred to misbehaviors that were a manifestation of a handicap, it was referring to direct and substantial causal relationships. It concluded that a handicapped student's misconduct is considered to result from the handicap "only if the handicap significantly impairs the child's behavioral controls." Excluded was conduct that bears only an "attenuated relationship to the child's handicap." An example given by the court that would *not* be included in its coverage was a situation of a physically handicapped child who misbehaves to gain the attention or approval of his peers. The court noted that such efforts to regain self-esteem are common to both handicapped and nonhandicapped students. Two other circuit courts have taken contrary positions.

In *School Board v. Malone* (1985), the fourth circuit was faced with a situation the ninth circuit would have discounted as not having a causal relationship between the child's handicap and the misconduct. In *Malone,* the court considered the expulsion of a 14-year-old student with a serious learning disability in language processing which impaired his ability to comprehend written and oral expression. The boy had acted on several occasions as a go-between for two groups of students in the exchange of "speed" for money. The staffing team concluded that no causal relationship existed between the learning disability and the distribution of drugs, and the principal recommended expulsion. The school board voted to expel the student, and his parents filed an appeal. Following a local hearing, the hearing officer concluded that the student's sale of drugs was related to the boy's learning disability, and a state reviewing official affirmed the decision. A federal district court reviewed the record, heard additional evidence, and found that the student's loss of self-image and awareness of lack of peer approval were a direct result of his learning disability. The court concluded that under such circumstances he was a "ready 'stooge' to be set up by his peers to engage in drug trafficking." The fourth circuit affirmed.

Indefinite suspensions create special problems. . . .school administrators should be certain to use short fixed-term suspensions of 10 school days or less. . .

The fifth circuit in *S-1 v. Turlington* (1981) came to a similar conclusion in a case involving nine students with mental disabilities who had engaged in such conduct as masturbation, sex acts against other students, insubordination, vandalism, and profanity. The school argued that handicapped students who could tell the difference between right and wrong should not be allowed to argue that their misconduct was a manifestation of their handicap. According to the argument, only seriously emotionally disturbed students could successfully establish a relationship between their handicap and misconduct. The court disagreed. The record included testimony that the students involved may have been reacting to stress or perceived threats in an aggressive manner because of their low intellectual functioning and perhaps a lessening of self-control (p. 347).

State court rulings on expulsion of handicapped students, especially those occurring before the Supreme Court ruling in *Board of Education v. Rowley* (1982), should be followed with great caution. For example, in 1979 the Iowa Supreme Court ruled that public schools could expel handicapped students after special procedures were followed (*Southeast Warren Community School District v. Department of Public Instruction*, 1979). Based primarily on state, rather than federal statutes, the court concluded that a staffing team would have to conduct a reevaluation of the handicapped student and make a report and recommendation to the school board. After a full due process hearing, the school board could expel the handicapped student if the board determined that "no reasonable alternative placement is available." The obvious problem with that position is that federal law requires that a "continuum" of appropriate placements be available to meet the needs of all handicapped students (34 C.F.R. § 300.551). Thus, under the court ruling, Iowa school districts are caught in a "Catch 22" situation. If an Iowa school expelled a handicapped child, it could do so only by finding that no appropriate alternative is available. However, such a finding is evidence that the school is in violation of the federal requirement that programs be available to meet the needs of all handicapped students.

When consideration of expulsion of a handicapped child arises, school administrators should first survey the legal scene to determine whether an attempted expulsion will really meet their disciplinary goals. The federal administrative agency with primary responsibility for enforcing the EAHCA has ruled that special education programs and services cannot be stopped for reasons of discipline. Only if that OSEP ruling has been overturned, or its validity has been brought into question, should school administrators proceed with an expulsion. If a decision is made to proceed toward expulsion, the educational staffing team should conduct a reevaluation of the student and determine whether the misconduct is a manifestation of the handicap. If it is—and remember that the courts are split on the issue of indirect causation—then consideration of expulsion should end. Alternative education placements should be considered. If the staffing team determines that the misconduct is not related to the handicap—and also remember that the burden to prove the lack of relationship is on the school—and the school proceeds to expulsion, the school must provide the parents a detailed notice of its proposal to expel the student. That notice must include the parents' right to file an appeal and to not have the placement changed until completion of the appeal process, unless a court approves.

Suspension

The primary legal issue concerning expulsion under Section 504 and the EAHCA may appear to be obvious. If a handicapped student is expelled, the student is no longer receiving the mandated free appropriate public education in the least restrictive environment. However, the courts generally have not viewed suspensions, especially short fixed-term suspensions, as serious a problem as expulsions.

Most courts have concluded that suspensions of 10 days or less do not conflict with the EAHCA or Section 504 (e.g., *Doe v. Maher*, 1986). Such suspensions allow school officials time to review their options for additional evaluation and alternative placements (e.g., *Kaelin v. Grubbs*, 1982; *Stuart v. Nappi*, 1978). One Illinois court made the analogy between a five-day suspension and a student staying home from school with a cold. Neither the cold nor the suspension, the court concluded, deprives a student of a special education program *(Board of Education v. Illinois State Board of Education, 1982). In Honig v. Doe* (1988), the Supreme Court recognized that school officials may exercise their authority to suspend disruptive students for up to 10 school days, so long as the same procedure is also used with nonhandicapped students. In the same ruling the Court struck down the use of a California statute that authorized the use of 20- and 30-day suspensions while alternative placements were being considered.

Indefinite suspensions create special problems. In *Sherry v. New York State Education Department* (1979), a court upheld a short-term suspension of a self-abusive child, but ruled that a subsequent indefinite suspension violated federal statute. Indefinite suspensions do not create an environment conducive to resolving disputes between parents and schools that fixed-term suspensions accomplish. With indefinite suspensions, school officials are not under any clear time requirement to return the student to school *(Doe v. Maher,* 1986).

The OCR has ruled that suspensions of 10 days or less do not conflict with Section 504, but that longer periods do (Daniels to OCR Senior Staff, 1988). In one recent application of its interpretation, OCR found an Iowa school district out of compliance with Section 504 when two students were suspended for more than 10 days without first considering whether the handicap was related to misconduct and without conducting reevaluations *(Sioux City Community School District,* 1989). One student had been suspended for 11 days for multiple incidents of truancy and "inappropriate behavior," and the other was suspended for 21 days for fighting until an alternative placement was found. While OCR considered discipline to be warranted under the circumstances, it still considered the lengthy suspensions to be violations of Section 504. In another incident, OCR ruled that an emergency removal of a student for safety reasons was appropriate, but that removal for 17 school days exceeded the permissible time for such removals (Jackson to Silver, 1989).

No reported court ruling was discovered that expressly addressed the issue of accumulated suspensions exceeding 10 days. However, the OCR has officially interpreted most accumulations in excess of 10 days to violate Section 504 (Daniels to OCR Senior Staff, 1988). That ruling concluded that a series of suspensions that are each of 10 days or less can create a pattern of exclusion that constitutes a "significant change in placement." Factors to be considered in an OCR determination of improper change in placement through a series of suspensions include the length of each suspension, the proximity of suspensions to each other, and the total amount of time the child is excluded from school. It is not clear whether staffing team approval of suspensions, either before or after the fact, or included in IEPs, was considered by OCR.

One court decision involving suspension does not easily fall into an existing category but may be instructive as to how courts view long-term suspensions that deprive handicapped students of an education. In *Doe v. Rockingham County School Board* (1987), the court ordered the immediate reinstatement of an 8-year-old boy who had been suspended for 35 days. Subsequent to the beginning of his suspension, the boy's parents acquired a psychological evaluation establishing the boy as learning disabled. Despite evidence of the boy's handicapped condition, the school refused to reinstate him until the full term of his suspension had run. The court concluded that the school was duty bound to reinstate the boy when it learned of his possible learning disability and that failure to do so resulted in a violation of EAHCA procedures.

In dealing with suspensions of handicapped students, school administrators should be certain to use short fixed-term suspensions of 10 school days or less—and to use similar suspensions with nonhandicapped students for similar offenses. Accumulation of a series of short-term suspensions in excess of a total of 10 days should be avoided. In the event that suspensions, individually or accumulated, exceed 10 days in a school term, the school should reevaluate the student and reconvene the staffing team to consider changes in programming and provide all statutory parental rights.

Implications for Educators

Federal laws dealing with the rights of handicapped students have not significantly altered the way school officials deal with minor disciplinary problems. Nevertheless, a clear tension exists between the rights of handicapped students and traditional school official authority when *serious* student misconduct occurs. Even when causing great disruption to the educational environment, handicapped students may not be unilaterally excluded from school. Interpretations by the courts and administrative agencies agree that students may not be expelled for conduct manifested as a result of the student's handicap. And even though the interpretations disagree on the ability to expel a handicapped student when the misconduct is determined to not be related to the handicap, the federal agency with the legal authority and responsibility for interpreting special education statutes (OSEP) has taken the position that handicapped students may not be deprived of their right of access to special education programs as a result of their misconduct. At most, schools will be able, without court authorization, to suspend handicapped students for a maximum of 10 school days.

Because expulsion and long-term suspensions are not viable alternatives when dealing with severe discipline problems involving handicapped students, administrators require a greater use of special and regular educators trained in dealing effectively with problems of student discipline. These specialists must be given a greater role in evaluating individual student behavior problems and creating a program that meets the needs of the child, school, family, and community. Their expertise and experience must be used to develop discipline prevention components in special education programs, to develop alternative approaches when planned programs are not successful, and to keep the education planning team on track and moving forward when adjustments are not at first effective. They also need to be given a more active role in reviewing school policies and practices regarding discipline.

Increased professional educator involvement in program development planning and program adjustment is a cost-effective approach in allocating limited school resources. Education officials cannot ignore the changed legal circumstances of discipline of handicapped students by attempting expulsion on long-term suspensions of these students. Such attempts may waste school resources on attorney fees and court costs as well as divert staff time from regular duties. But, monetary expense is not the only cost. Precious administrative and staff time taken up litigating a dispute over a proposed expulsion is time lost in planning and implementing appropriate alternative programs for students. The school, child, and society will all benefit by the school's attempts to meet the needs of the child. Efforts to exclude the child from school simply makes the situation someone else's problem.

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Administrative Roles in School-Centered Decision Making

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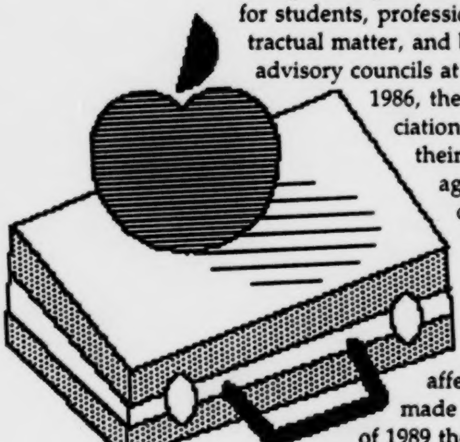
Discussion of school-centered decision making has tended to depreciate the role of administrators. Some seem to think that empowering staff and parents at the school level means that administrators will no longer be required. However, such empowerment makes the administrative role both more essential and more challenging.

The discussion which follows is based on long-term experiences with school-centered decision making in Bellevue, Washington, and on evidence derived from working with more than 20 school districts throughout North America that are engaged in some form of school-based management. The Bellevue School District enrolls approximately 15,000 students who live in a community of about 100,000 people. An urbanizing community, Bellevue is located just east of Seattle. Since the adoption of a long-range plan in 1951, Bellevue has been a decentralized school district and as such identifies the principal as the key figure in the development of instructional programs. The district expects active participation by staff and parents in budget and program development. Student achievement, as indicated by such traditional indicators as standardized test scores, drop out rates, and selective college admissions, is among the best in the state.



Bellevue's history of decentralization has included an evaluation model for teachers that incorporates peer assistance, open enrollment for students, professional involvement as a contractual matter, and board-prescribed parent advisory councils at each school. In the fall of 1986, the Bellevue Education Association and the District modified their collective bargaining agreement to include specific provisions for participation in decision making (rather than advice giving) by faculty, parents, administrators, and students affected by decisions being made at a school. In the spring of 1989 the school board adopted a policy further specifying Bellevue's approach to renewal and school-centered decision making. The policy opens with the following statements:

> Schools exist in changing environments to serve changing clientele. The purpose of *school renewal* is to keep the schools constantly adapting to those changes so that all students succeed. Renewal is an ongoing process which may include major restructuring of schools and of approaches to teaching and learning in order to assure the highest possible student performance.
>
> Consistent with its mission statement, the Bellevue School District believes that school renewal is achieved best through the process of school-centered decision making. This process provides for decisions concerning school renewal to be made (1) close to where the students are educated, (2) through the participation of those most directly concerned with the students, and (3) within the context of a district and state framework surrounding the school.

While this discussion is based on the perspective introduced above, space does not permit detailed explication of each of the general ideas identified to provide an overview of administrative roles.

Central Administrative Roles

What do central administrators concerned with program services do in a school district which has dedicated itself to school-centered decision making?

Generally, central administrators should provide leadership in developing the broad framework within which schools are expected to operate and to support schools so that they can be effective. More specifically, based on Bellevue staff's experience and understanding of administrative theory, it appears that central staff have eight major areas of responsibility:

1. Developing a common vision within the school district.
2. Assisting in the creation of clear expectations and developing an understanding of those expectations throughout the district.
3. Mediating conflicts within decision making groups.
4. Helping to provide the information base needed by people throughout the district for effective decision making.
5. Assisting in acquiring and distributing resources.
6. Stimulating innovation.
7. Supporting continuing education.
8. Carrying out responsibilities assigned by the Board of Directors, and assisting others in meeting their responsibilities.

In carrying out these responsibilities central staff need to focus their work on the school. While the ultimate mission of the district is to assure that the individual learning needs of all students are satisfied, the central staff provides leadership to the schools rather than direct services to students in all but a few limited instances.

The outline of eight areas of responsibility incorporates many administrative roles that also are needed in more centralized districts. When school-centered decision making is emphasized, these roles take different forms and some, such as mediating conflicts within decision making groups and providing an information base, require much different emphasis in traditionally organized districts.

. . .empowerment makes the administrative role both more essential and more challenging.

The discussion which follows provides a brief summary of each of these major areas of responsibility.

Common Vision

When we think of leaders and vision, we may conjure up an image of a seer who, having gazed into a crystal ball, sees the path to ultimate success and the pitfalls that line the way. The leader's "vision" is individualistic, that is, only the leader "knows" how to accomplish success. Such a personal vision of "future-telling" invariably contributes to frustration on the part of the leader and lack of initiative on the part of those who would be led.

For vision to be useful, it must be shared among those who are expected to make it a reality. The central administration of a district cannot "order" people to possess a particular world-view. However, it can and must stimulate the conversations and deliberations required to develop a common sense of direction.

Some givens must be taken into account in developing this vision. Discussions must seek to develop system-wide commitment to equity and excellence for all students in their academic, social and civic, vocational, and personal learning, and must be built on the premise that all students require equal access to knowledge.

By providing current information, encouraging discussion, creating opportunities by which personnel within the district may network with persons in outside agencies, and convening a variety of groups within the district, central leadership can help create a shared vision.

Clear Expectations

School-centered decisions are made within a framework established by federal and state laws and regulations, Board policies, and collective bargaining agreements. The central program staff have a key responsibility in assuring that this framework is collaboratively developed. It is also responsible for assuring that the framework facilitates rather than inhibits school decision making. In order for the schools to engage authentically in decision making, the framework needs to be sufficiently general and descriptive so that it maximizes discretion of staff at the school level. Therefore, the central administration's task is not one of issuing directives but of developing broad understandings of general guidelines. Processes used in creating or modifying the framework of expectations should serve as models of the kinds of decision making processes desired at schools; that is, they should be based on good information, developed with broad involvement, and reached through consensus-building strategies.

Mediating Conflict

Conflict is often a necessary stage to be passed through on the way to the solution of problems. Without sufficient conflict, necessary ideas may not be considered, and the quality of the solution may suffer. On the other hand, too much conflict, or unresolved conflict, may prevent groups from reaching agreement on any solution, let alone the best solution. On some occasions conflict generated by lack of skills or information, interpersonal or value differences, stress, and other factors may require mediation. Sometimes central staff may need to perform as mediators; in other instances their role will be that of finding people who have the skills necessary to help in a given situation.

Information Base

School personnel can make good decisions only if they have sufficient and accurate information. Central staff have the responsibility of creating district and school data bases that can assist school staff in their decision making. Central staff also needs to assist the school personnel in developing information at their level. Moreover, assistance needs to be provided in helping school staff develop the skills that are necessary to effectively evaluate and utilize the information in the various data bases. Information available should provide an accurate picture of students and the ways in which they are performing relative to the district's expectations. This information should be disaggregated by ethnic, gender, and socioeconomic groups. It should include data developed through qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

Resources

Resources for the district's program come in several forms: people, dollars, supplies, materials, and equipment. In general, central staff responsibilities related to human resources include developing appropriate recruiting and hiring efforts. They also include direct management of the hiring and assignment processes for administrators and staff assigned to central support programs, and the direct supervision of those employees. Central human resources leaders have the complex task of providing for involvement of building-level personnel in the selection of their peers.

Central staff administrators need to seek funds that provide adequate resources for the schools. They also need to develop equitable means of distributing available resources. Budgeting practices need to be responsive to needs identified at the schools and need to be developed so that they support the accomplishment of district expectations. In bargaining, efforts should continue to be on the distribution of resources to the schools for discretionary decision making there, as opposed to centralized solutions to problems. Some discretionary funds should be managed centrally to help promote innovative problem solving by the schools.

As new equipment and instructional materials are acquired by the schools, central staff needs to respond with appropriate support, which may include technical assistance and professional development. The goal of such assistance and support should be to make each school as self-sufficient in these areas as possible.

Stimulate Innovation

It is not the task of the central office in a district to determine new programs and insert these into the schools. However, central staff needs to stimulate the schools to creatively solve the problems they face. This is one way of overcoming the natural tendency of any organization to simply maintain itself. Central staff can serve in the role of a "different drummer" in an otherwise stable setting.

A necessary condition for stimulating innovation is that the central staff must keep abreast of current developments in education. Staff should be familiar with recent research and participate in national and regional discussions.

Continuing Education

Continuing education is a common central function in school districts. In districts that emphasize school-centered decision making, it becomes important that continuing education opportunities be responsive to the needs identified and communicated by the schools. As mentioned earlier, support also needs to be provided to assist in the development of specific skills required to effectively implement school-centered decision making. For example, assistance to the schools is required in conflict resolution, problem solving, consensus building, and critical inquiry and analysis of data.

Responsibility

The Board of Directors, which represents the community, expects the central administration to provide progress reports and to assure that policies are being carried out. To meet these responsibilities, the central office staff performs a variety of functions. Already mentioned is the development of information to be used in decision making at the district and school level. Another major function is carrying out long-term evaluation of renewal efforts.

The central administration is also charged with the responsibility of direct supervision of the administrative staff in the schools. Such supervision includes an overall review of the decision making processes used by the schools.

In carrying out these responsibilities, it is critical that central staff models the kinds of collaborative behavior it hopes to see practiced in the schools. In addition to modeling effective behavior, central staff needs to assist school personnel to develop the skills required to be able to demonstrate to parents and students that school staff members are fulfilling the vision for education articulated within the district and the goals and objectives set by the school.

The Role of Principals

Within a school practicing school-centered decision making, many of the principal's roles will be similar to those carried out by central administrators. Thus, the principal will function within each of the eight major areas of responsibility that have been discussed. In addition, it is important to recognize that the principal plays four key roles, as outlined below.

First, the principal is *not* the determiner of basic values in a school but *is* the enforcer of the commonwealth interests. Principals must assure the rights of all school parties. They must see that everyone accepts responsibility for the safety of themselves and others in the school. Principals also must manage funds in keeping with the public trust; that is, the principal must assure that dollars are not spent for illegal or immoral purposes.

For vision to be useful, it must be shared among those who are expected to make it a reality.

Second, the principal is not *the* leader in a school but must be *a* leader. A leader's authority derives from those led. Principals who are leaders use this authority to build consensus and to encourage sufficient dissent to assure that differing ideas receive attention. Principals must have principles. They must be advocates within the decision making forum for the interests of all members of the community—even when it is tempting to take a position because it is popular with one segment of that community.

Third, the principal needs to be *responsible for seeing that effective decisions are made* rather than being *the* decision maker within the school. This requires the principal to assure that decision makers have sufficient, high quality information. It also makes it necessary for the principal to diffuse decision making throughout the school. Teachers, parents, and students must know that they have the power to make changes; otherwise, no changes will occur.

Fourth, the principal must *be an inquirer*, not just an administrator. Planning, organizing, coordinating, and performing public relations certainly need to be undertaken and undertaken well. Effective personnel practices need to be practiced, and students services need to be managed. Having reminded ourselves of these realities of the position, we still must emphasize the role of the principal as a scholar, an inquirer. The role of inquirer must take precedence over the managerial functions. Frequently, one hears complaints about principals' inability to manage. Such complaints are often followed by suggestions that education should adopt a model, such as the medical or the legal professions, in which managers keep order for the practicing partners. Principals tend to be good managers. Most could do a commendable job of running a large law firm or a hospital. However, they need to be able to do more than that. They must also be competent in considering ideas. In order to develop faculty and students into excited life-long learners, principals must demonstrate their own continuing interest in learning. They should engage in action research, maintain their knowledge of the academic disciplines, and inquire actively with parents, students, and teachers about the way the school is meeting its goals.

Conclusion

When renewal is emphasized at the school level, students can receive an education that goes far beyond achieving high scores on standardized tests. A renewing school is one in which principals and teachers are continuously engaged in a process of critical inquiry. The role of the central staff is to support this inquiry process; the role of the principal is to provide leadership in this effort at the school. Administrators engaged in such activities will not be forgotten. They will be sought out as vital participants in the initiatives to renew school.

For additional information about this article, you may contact the author at Bellevue Public Schools, P.O. Box 90010, Bellevue, WA 98009-9010.

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Review of *Small Victories: The Real World of a Teacher, Her Students and Their High School*

Samuel J. Freedman
Harper and Row, 431 pp. $22.95

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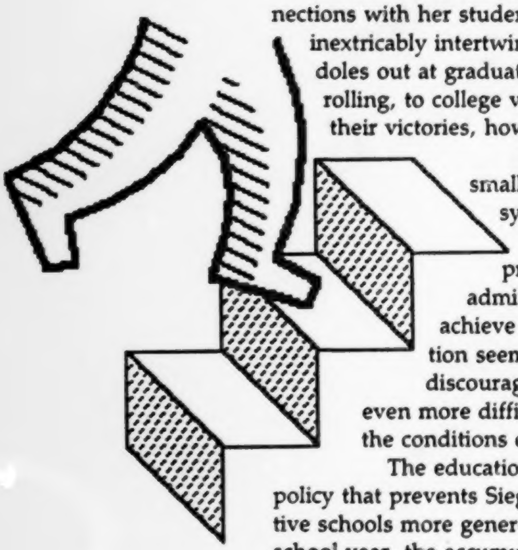
Those of us in education generally flinch when a new report on our nation's schools is announced or when a new "inside" account of the workings of a school is published. We have good reason to be wary. In the last twenty years, most of the news from the trenches hasn't been good, from *A Nation at Risk* to Diane Ravitch's and Chester Finn's *What Do Our Seventeen Year Olds Know?* Educators have been bashed and bombarded with a variety of criticisms about how we have failed our nation's schoolchildren, from inadequate teacher preparation to "dummied-down" curricula. While much of the criticism may be justified and deserved, the net effect of these negative accounts has not been widespread educational reform, but increased demoralization in an already demoralized field of professionals and a widening gap between our understanding of the Herculean challenge educators face and the public's appreciation of our efforts.

Last year's best seller *Among Schoolchildren* by Tracy Kidder did much to shed some positive light on popular culture's portrayal of teachers. Even more powerful is Samuel J. Freedman's *Small Victories*. This book is a poignant and beautifully written account of the year he spent observing English teacher Jessica Siegel and her students at Seward Park High School on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, a school so riddled with truancy, low student achievement, and a host of urban problems that in 1985 it was labeled one of the "ten worst high schools in New York State."

By focusing on the efforts of one remarkable dedicated teacher, Freedman is able to reaffirm our belief that good, even great, teaching is possible in the worst of educational conditions. Despite overcrowded and dilapidated classrooms and a violent and turbulent world of drugs and poverty that taps relentlessly on the boarded windows of Seward Park, Jessica Siegel actually manages to help her students see the value of writing essays and reading literature. Through her skilled teaching, her students are able to connect their own experience to Gatsby, to Whitman, to Thoreau, even to the Puritans. The transcriptions of the class discussions Siegel leads with the students she calls "incredible, incredible kids" are breathtaking not only for the skill Siegel displays, but for the insight and intelligence her street-smart disadvantaged students reveal.

In addition to teaching five overcrowded classes of largely underachieving students, Siegel also takes a handful of journalism students through nearly insurmountable odds to produce an award-winning student newspaper, the *Seward World*. And several of her students not only graduate against tremendous odds, but thanks to Siegel's prodding and their own perseverance, apply and are accepted to colleges and universities.

Freedman's sensitive reporting also documents what every good teacher knows: Siegel's connections with her students are not confined to the walls of her classroom. Siegel's life is inextricably intertwined with those of her students—from the bobby pins and tissues that she doles out at graduation, to her using her own money to keep the presses of the *Seward World* rolling, to college visits and applications that she personally engineers. Their anguish is hers; their victories, however "small," are hers, too.



But if Siegel and many of her students renew our hope in the promise that small miracles can happen within our public schools, the portrait of the school system that emerges dampens that faith. Freedman, who is a former education reporter for the *New York Times*, does a far better job than Kidder of providing the historical context necessary to understand the bureaucratic and administrative battles that Jessica and her colleagues face. While Jessica may achieve "small victories" with her students, the battles with the Board of Education seem unwinnable, even unwageable. The "system" seems destined to discourage even dedicated teachers like Siegel, making her already impossible job even more difficult. As Freedman says, "The problem is not the job itself. The problem is the conditions of the job."

The educational system intrudes unfavorably in a variety of ways, from instituting a policy that prevents Siegel from using the longtime printer of the *Seward World* to funding selective schools more generously than neighborhood schools like Seward Park. By the end of the school year, the accumulation of years of such difficulties as the lack of a copying machine of any kind, conflicts with her department chair over administrative duties, the overwhelming paper load, the 14-hour days, 7 days a week and, most significantly, the sense that she's had to "sacrifice her life to do good work" finally drive this self-described "tough cookie" to leave teaching.

Jessica Siegel's decision to leave teaching and resume her interrupted journalism career is, for many observers, a failure of the system, a tragic ending to this passionate story that overshadows all of the small victories that are chronicled therein. But Siegel's decision does not invalidate the good news the book brings us. Rather, it can serve to remind us, especially those in leadership positions in education, that it is not enough to find evidence of good teachers in our nation's schools; we need to do all we can to keep them there.

While no single administrator can unravel an unwieldy bureaucracy, there are lessons in Freedman's story that all administrators should heed. First, like good teachers, good administrators can and do make a difference. Throughout the book, both Freedman and Siegel credit the compassionate leadership and steadfast support of principal Dr. Noel Kriftcher for wanting, if not always getting, the best for the students and the teachers of his school. Second, those who have any part in creating the rules that affect and inform teachers' lives must be cognizant of how often those rules impede rather than facilitate the educational process. One particularly frustrating example is the chronicle of how Bruce Baskin, a colleague of Jessica's and a gifted teacher in his own right, taught without a contract, trying vainly for months to unfreeze his salary and to get officially appointed to teach at Seward, a school many teachers would shun, despite persistent offers from an elite private school. This was a battle Baskin should not have had to fight.

Freedman is able to reaffirm our belief that good, even great, teaching is possible in the worst of educational conditions.

Finally, Siegel's departure from teaching is a dramatic reminder of the lack of rewards our schools have to offer exceptional teachers. We have no merit system, no way to honor extraordinary efforts like those of Ms. Siegel, who was not even able to get a course release for her work on the student newspaper. Several of Ms. Siegel's colleagues, including Mr. Baskin, moonlight to make ends meet. These teachers are not only unrewarded for their dedication; they almost seem to be punished for it.

Jessica Siegel walked away from Seward Park High School and from teaching with a wooden plaque from her students and the "raccoon badge" under her eyes of sleepless nights and too early mornings, the medal of the devoted teacher. She deserved much more. And if we are to keep dedicated teachers like Ms. Siegel where we most need them, in the classrooms of our nation's most troubled schools, we must find a way to give them more.

Reading this remarkable book may indeed be the first step. Freedman provides a well-wrought and unsentimental tribute, however overdue, to the efforts of teachers like Jessica Siegel. But he also provides a warning that "the conditions of the job" must change for small victories to grow.

Review of *Small Victories: The Real World of a Teacher, Her Students and Their High School*

Samuel J. Freedman
Harper and Row, 431 pp. $22.95

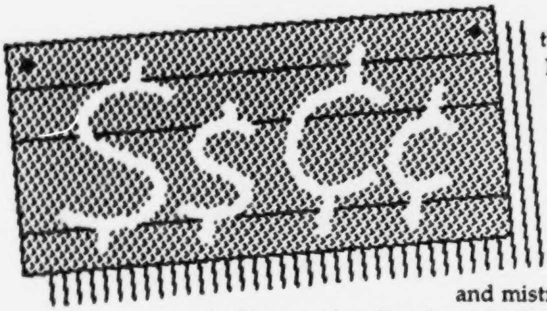
Virginia Nickelson Broz
Teacher of English and Reading
Fairfield Middle School
Fairfield, Iowa

Manhattan's Seward Park High School is not a Mecca in the strictest sense, but it is as near as some of its 3,500 students will get to a life of order and security. For many students, this inner city school is a welcoming refuge from the uncertainties of their lives; for others, it is a fortress, defending them from the barbarism of street gangs and family violence on the Lower East Side of New York City. For still others, held hostage by poverty, the school is a road to opportunity.

Both Jessica Siegel, the teacher whose story is told in *Small Victories,* and the book's author, Samuel Freedman, landed at Seward Park by accident. An out-of-work journalist, Siegel took a job as a teaching paraprofessional. Encouraged by her success with one student, she returned to Seward Park the following year, entered New York's Teachers College, and eventually joined the school's staff as an English and journalism teacher. Later, when Siegel sent a congratulatory letter to Freedman for an article he wrote for the *New York Times,* she made a connection which had far-reaching effects. Freedman ultimately resigned from his job at the *Times* to spend the 87-88 school year in Seward Park as a "reporter-in-residence," taking notes, conducting interviews, following Siegel, her colleagues, and her students in exploration of a community.

Freedman avoids creating a "personality cult" in *Small Victories.* The book is not just about one teacher in one high school. It is about administration and teaching and learning in an American public school system which is far from perfect. Our schools are challenged by society to cure its ills. When we fail, as we often do, we are easy targets for criticism from the likes of E. D. Hirsch and presidential commission reports like *A Nation At Risk.* Siegel and her colleagues worked against great odds. Principal Noel Kriftcher, addressing his faculty at the beginning of the school year, told his teachers that 9 in 10 students at Seward Park live with parents who do not speak English. Half come from single-parent families and sixty-five percent from families who are eligible for public assistance. Over two-thirds of the students read below grade level, and more than one-tenth drop out. Based on the drop-out rate and SAT scores alone, Seward Park was ranked among the worst ten percent of schools in New York State in 1985. In spite of all this, though, ninety percent of the graduates go on to college, trade school, or the military.

In his book, Freedman traces several students to their beginnings, reconstructing the rocky roads of their lives. He tracks See Wai Mui to his poverty-stricken childhood in rural China. When Siegel encounters the young Chinese-American in a senior English class, she sees in him an unconquered spirit and the ability to succeed. He becomes one of her many "special projects." See Wai's success underscores the theme that real educational successes are the stories of individuals.



Freedman tells stories of Seward Park's staff members with the same intensity—in particular, the story of an exemplary English teacher who put in seventy-hour work weeks. We all know a Jessica Siegel. And we can all list with ease the names of outstanding educators who have left the field, as Siegel did at the end of the 87-88 school year. Siegel's frustrations are those of teachers across the nation. Teachers leave the profession, not only because of notoriously low salaries, but also because of hindering bureaucratic policies and unrealistic workloads.

School board policies, too often born of politics, finance, and mistrust of teachers, can be impediments to education rather than facilitators of it. Siegel and her colleagues wrestle with the many-armed octopus of the New York City Board of Education. New York is counted among the states that have gone to temporary licensing to fill teaching positions with uncertified staff. The process is a bureaucratic nightmare. In the first week of classes of the 87-88 school year, 331 teaching positions in the city remained unfilled, and nearly as many teachers remained unassigned to any school. While few hiring and reduction policies are likely to be as tangled as those of New York City, many school boards eventually often adopt elaborate staffing stratagems that are designed to be manipulated by political decisions, and that do not have at heart the best interests of students. Teachers become weary of struggling with "education policies" that seem to have little to do with education.

Teachers are caught in the middle between back-to-basics critics like E. D. Hirsch and teach-the-whole-child advocates such as James Britton. We have to do it all. And in an economic crunch, schools write policies that implement shortening the length of classes and adding class periods, making commonplace the teacher who meets 150 students in six academic classes daily. Overworked teachers have two options. They can lower their standards and, as Freedman writes, become clock punchers who "cut corners, to scale back from full essays to one-paragraph answers to mere phrases to multiple-choice circles and true/false slashes. . ." Or, as Siegel was forced to do, they can leave the profession.

Our ideal of school and education is a Mecca: a place where many people yearn to go, something that we greatly desire and try to achieve. Quality education depends in large part on quality educators. We cannot afford to be turning away and losing good teachers. The American education system must become a Mecca for its teachers as well as for its students. Freedman takes as his epigraph the words of South African playwright Althol Fugard in *The Road to Mecca:*

> This is my world and I have banished darkness from it . . . I had to learn how to bend rusty wire into the right shape and mix sand cement to make my Wise Men and their camels, how to grind down beer bottles in a coffee mill to put glitter on my walls. . . It's the best I could do, as near as I could get to the real Mecca. The journey is over now. This is as far as I can go.

Good teachers use rusty wire and sand cement to banish darkness from the world. To keep them on journeys toward knowledge and enlightenment with their students, we must offer them more than small victories.

Teachers leave the profession, not only because of notoriously low salaries, but also because of hindering bureaucratic policies and unrealistic workloads.

Journal of Research for School Executives

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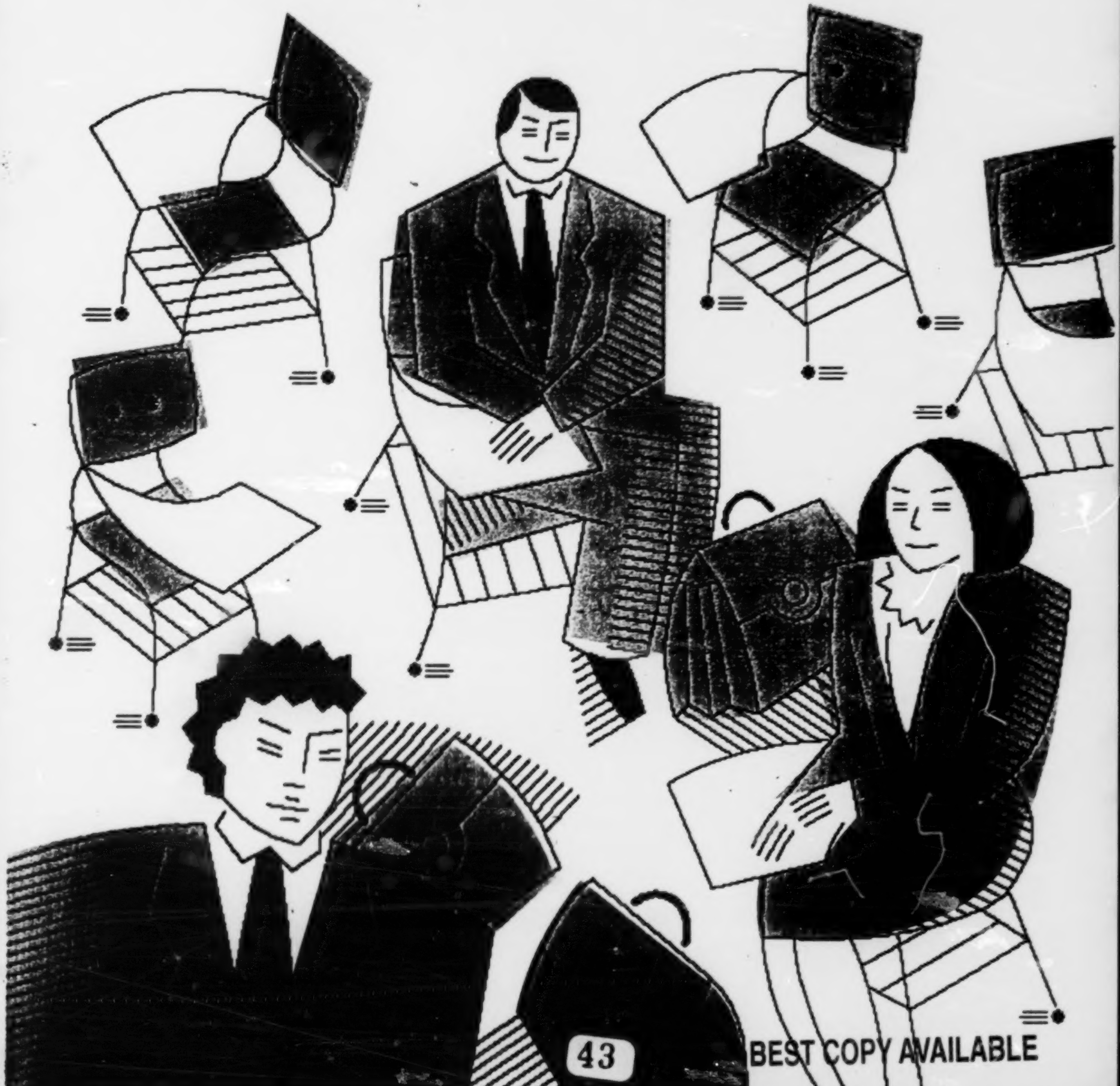

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Glasser's Control Theory: Implications for the Campus Administrator

Ronald A. Lindahl
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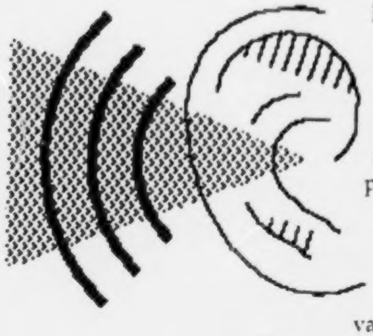
Introduction

In 1984, William Glasser introduced control theory, a new theoretical model for interpreting human behavior. A review of many of the current textbooks on school administration and supervision (Acheson & Gall, 1987; Campbell, Cunningham, Nystrand, & Usdan, 1990; Drake & Roe, 1986; Glatthorn, 1990; Glickman, 1990; Gorton & Schneider, 1991; Guthrie & Reed, 1991; Hall, 1991; Hanson, 1991; Harris, 1986; Hoy & Forsyth, 1986; Hoy & Miskel, 1991; Keith & Girling, 1991; Kimbrough & Burkett, 1990; Kimbrough & Nunnery, 1988; Knezevich, 1984; Lipham, Rankin, & Hoeh, 1985; Owens, 1991; Sergiovanni, 1991; Tanner & Tanner, 1987, Wiles & Bondi, 1986; and Wood, Nicholson, & Findley, 1985) reveals that Glasser's model has not yet been integrated into the basic literature on administrative or supervisory theory. Of the aforementioned textbooks, only Wiles and Bondi mention Glasser, and they do so only as a recommended reading, rather than as an integral part of their theoretical presentation. The only text surveyed that discusses Glasser's control theory is that of Lunenburg and Ornstein (1991), which cites Glasser's 1990 work several times. However, these authors conclude that Glasser fails to differentiate well between schools administrated in accordance with his control theory model and those which he characterizes as being antithetical to that model (p. 84).

Because Glasser has perhaps not fully clarified the implications of his model for campus-level administration and leadership, an obvious question to pose would be that of the relative significance of the model itself. The model is not a radical departure from other attempts to explain the complex phenomena of human behavior, however, to the extent that it affords a relatively simple interpretation of a complex reality, with some measure of face-validity, it is at least worthy of further examination, testing, and thought by learned scholars and practitioners. The purpose of this article, then, is to provide a brief overview of Glasser's control theory and to discuss some of its possible implications for campus administrators.



Basic Tenets of Control Theory

The basic premise of Glasser's work is that human beings are not stimulus-response systems, as posed by many previous behavioral theorists; rather, each individual is a control system capable of determining behavior, thought, and feelings. Glasser makes some very strong statements in this regard. He asserts, "Nothing we do is caused by what happens outside of us ..." (Glasser, 1984, p. 1) and "How you feel is not controlled by others or events" (Glasser, 1984, pp. 1, 3).

Glasser defines all behavior as consisting of three components: "what we do, what we think, and what we feel" (Glasser, 1984, p. xi). Later he introduces a fourth component, physiology, over which the individual is able to exercise less direct control, but which both influences and is greatly influenced by the other three components. Glasser identifies five basic needs: survival and reproduction; belonging, love, sharing, and cooperation; power; freedom; and fun. He asserts that each individual responds to these needs and determines his or her behavior according to highly personalized "picture albums in our heads" (Glasser, 1984, p. 23). These "picture albums" contain at least one picture, and possibly thousands, which the individual perceives, consciously or unconsciously, and will satisfy each of these needs. These "pictures" are visual, auditory, gustatory, tactile, and other sensory perceptions that represent the specific life the individual wants to live, a life in which individuals control their behavior and the environment in order to "do what is most satisfying to us at the time" (Glasser, 1986, p. 19).

The primary difference between Glasser's model and those of other theorists commonly presented in administrative textbooks appears to lie in its emphatic rejection of external stimuli as determinants of motivation or behavior and its emphasis on the individual's control over his or her own behavior. As Glasser states: "Reward and punishment are based on the false idea that people can be forced or persuaded from the outside to do what they do not want to do. A control-theory world would be well aware that our only motivator is the pictures we pursue from our albums, and that what happens outside of us does not cause us to do what we do" (Glasser, 1984, p. 168).

As with the models of other prominent motivational theorists—for example, Herzberg, Maslow, and Porter—Glasser's model attributes behavior on the individual's attempts to satisfy basic needs. However, unlike the hierarchical nature of other models, Glasser's model assigns no priority order to these five basic needs and recognizes that conflict between them is a relatively constant phenomenon. For example, he illustrates that belonging and power are often in conflict: "When you attempt to use power, you almost always lose belonging" (Glasser, 1984, p. 179). Although he recognizes that fun is often a less powerful need than the others, he asserts that even survival does not always take precedence over the other needs, including that of having fun.

Based on these needs, Glasser proposes that each individual creates mental "picture albums" of the way that individual would like to see the world, and contrasts these "pictures" with the perceptions that individual holds of the way the world actually is. As he states, "Whenever there is a difference between what we want and what we have, we must behave" (Glasser, 1984, p. 32). The greater the discrepancy perceived, the more pressure the individual feels to act. He notes that when individuals cannot obtain what they want or need through the "pictures" they already hold, they will create new behaviors that may be more effective. The greater the pressure the individual feels to act, the less likely the individual will be able to compromise and negotiate effectively. If the individual feels pressure to satisfy two conflicting pictures at the same time, there often may not be a satisfactory solution, however, "there is no respite from trying to find a solution" (Glasser, 1984, p. 151). As individuals experience failure, they may often act progressively more irrationally and ineffectively in their attempts to develop "pictures" and select behaviors that will satisfy the needs. He notes that people will generally neither do what does not satisfy them, nor will they accept attempts to control them. Those who do accept that they have lost control generally give up. "For all practical purposes, there are few significant differences among us in what we need. Where we differ significantly is in how successful we are in getting it" (Glasser, 1990, p. 49).

Implications of Control Theory for Interpreting Teacher Behavior

Both of Glasser's two most recent books, *Control Theory in the Classroom* (1986), and *The Quality School* (1990), concentrate primarily on the implications of this theoretical model for explaining student behavior in schools and in recommending how teachers and administrators may best serve these students. Less attention has yet been focused on the implications of this model for interpreting the behavior of employees—for example, teachers—relative to the organization, e.g., teachers, although the model asserts that the same principles most certainly apply.

Glasser asserts that control theory "is almost the exact opposite of the traditional stimulus-response (s-r) theory that has led us to where we are now" in schools (Glasser, 1986, p. 7). He notes the routine lack of effort and enthusiasm exhibited by students, suggesting that "students don't work because there is not enough immediate payoff either in or out of school" and that "we cannot pressure any student to work if he does not believe the work is satisfying" (Glasser, 1986, p. 11). These same critical analyses appear equally appropriate in describing teachers in America's public schools. Widespread teacher dissatisfaction has been revealed in a variety of opinion poll surveys; teacher attrition rates reach staggering proportions for those in their first three years in the profession and those assigned to many large urban schools; constant criticism is levelled against the profession that the "best and the brightest" (generally as measured by relative scores on national standardized examinations) do not typically enter the teaching profession. The limited coercive powers of, or even external reward structures available to, campus administrators to pressure teachers into greater efforts gave rise to the human relations approaches common several decades ago and to the more recent human resources approach to supervision, management, and administration.

However, Glasser proposes that "unless we do something to restructure classes so that they are more satisfying, there is no sense in telling students how valuable classes are and how much they need them. That's our picture, not theirs" (Glasser, 1986, p. 54). Similarly, recent reform efforts call for the restructuring of schools, through such means as site-based management, educational choice, differentiated staffing, and other approaches, to allow teachers to form new, more need-satisfying pictures as well.

In an effort to change the reality and reduce the individual's perceived need, "most schools depend on hazy, long-term rewards" (Glasser, 1990, p. 30). For students, such preferred rewards may be better grades or successful admission to higher education, needs which seem so distant to many students that they fail to provide the necessary motivation. For teachers, the rewards are often more nebulous. Most traditional teacher pay systems do not provide increases in salary based on performance, and working conditions tend to vary very little in accordance with teacher needs or performance. As Glasser notes in reference to students, "the bosses decide what the rewards should be, and often they are not as need-satisfying to the students as the bosses believe" (Glasser, 1990, p. 49). This appears to be equally true in relation to teachers and their supervisors' attempts to externally control behavior through a reward system. In principle, Glasser views rewards as a form of external coercion and an inherently unsatisfactory means of aligning the students', or teachers', "picture albums" with the "reality" of the school situation.

. . . working conditions tend to vary very little in accordance with teacher needs or performance.

The inability of a student to align his or her perceptions of the school "reality" with the "mental pictures" that individual finds satisfying often leads that student to become disengaged from school, perhaps not dropping out completely, but not investing great effort to obtain the best education available. The same may often be true of teachers. Glasser offers several clues as to why teachers may not find "mental pictures" of school that satisfy their needs. First, he posits that "workers will not work hard unless they believe there is quality in what they are asked to do." He continues this thought by suggesting that "freedom of choice adds quality to what we choose" (Glasser, 1990, p. 89). At another point in this same text, Glasser characterizes some typical school situations as lacking freedom of choice for teachers and as presenting barriers to teachers' perceptions that there is quality in what they are being asked to do:

> The lead-teacher will also be criticized for caring too much and told that too much personal involvement is unprofessional. She will be admonished to keep the state assessment tests in mind and to fragment the subject so that students will do better on these tests, even though this approach fails to capture the attention of over half the students. (p. 55)

Clearly, under these circumstances, it would be difficult for the teachers to form, or maintain, "mental pictures" of their jobs as being need-satisfying.

Linked to this concept of perception of quality, "fun" appears to be one need that many teachers are unable to satisfy in their professional roles, whereas for others it is precisely the reason that they remain in a comparatively underpaid and undervalued profession. Glasser notes that "boredom is the enemy of quality" and that the administrator's role is to "nurture teachers as they struggle to put fun and interest into their work" (Glasser, 1990, p. 67).

Glasser expands on this concept of "fun" by exploring its social dimension: "Most of us like to play with interesting people. But what makes them interesting is that we learn from them, and the way we learn is to talk to them, sharing ideas and experiences" (Glasser, 1984, p. 15). This social dimension of fun may be especially important to teachers' need satisfaction. In many school situations, the teacher is isolated from other adults for most, if not all, of the work day. Although it is possible for the teacher to interact with students on a constant basis, a question remains as to the extent to which a conversation with a kindergarten student is indeed a legitimate sharing of ideas and experiences and contributes significantly to the teacher's learning process or need satisfaction.

It will be difficult for the teacher to satisfy such basic needs as power; freedom; fun; or belonging, love, sharing, and cooperation if the teacher is supervised under what Glasser terms a "boss-management" system, rather than under a "lead-management" system. Glasser notes that "lead-managers" differ from "boss-managers" in that they "never coerce; they make an effort to talk to workers about their grievances, and they are open to suggestions on how working conditions might be improved" (Glasser, 1990, p. 134). Just as "lead-teachers" would attempt to teach children to "follow reasonable rules through negotiation" and give the children some control rather than trying to force them to follow the rules, "lead-managers" would strive to maintain the teacher's perception of power and control and to help meet both the needs of the teacher and those of the school (Glasser, 1984, p. 197). Although further implications of this theoretical model for campus administrators are presented in the following section, it must be recognized that part of the problem is systemic and largely independent of the individual who occupies the supervisory role. Recent emphases on site-based management, shared-decision-making, peer supervision, and other approaches appear to recognize this need.

Implications of Control Theory for the Campus Administrator

The purpose of this section is to extrapolate Glasser's ideas to the realm of the campus administrator. Although the focus will be on the implications of control theory, itself, cross-references will also be made to those management models identified by Glasser as being most consonant with his model. Included among these are the works by Bennis and Nanus (1985), Karrass and Glasser (1980), Likert (1977), and Deming (as presented in Walton, 1986).

As Glasser notes about teachers, "Schoolwork changes frequently, and the quality of the teacher is as important as the quality of the work. Students will not work hard for a teacher who is not firmly embedded in their "quality worlds," i.e., "picture albums." A teacher must expend more time and effort trying to satisfy a student than an industrial manager needs to do for a worker" (Glasser, 1990, p. 66). Teachers also may not work as hard, or feel as satisfied, if their campus administrator is not equally firmly embedded in their own "quality worlds." Glasser (1990) considers the following essential to effective "lead-managing":

1. The leader engages the workers in a discussion of the quality of the work to be done and the time needed to do it.
2. The leader makes a constant effort to fit the job to the skills and the needs of the worker.
3. The leader models the job to be done in order that the worker may more fully understand the leader's expectations.
4. The leader asks the workers to evaluate their own work for quality.
5. The leader provides the worker with the best tools and workplace possible, including a noncoercive, nonadversarial atmosphere. (pp. 31-32)

Such a teaching or supervisory approach is not the norm, according to Glasser, who characterizes the typical school setting as being that "We try to do things for children, and to them, but we don't leave them alone enough or do things with them" (Glasser, 1984, p. 188). Obviously, supervisors' attempts to determine teachers' needs and to provide for them run the same risks of failure as do teachers' attempts to control their students' satisfaction of needs. As Glasser notes, a supervisor cannot look into other people's heads and see what drives them. No two people share all the same pictures. To get along or to change pictures, the supervisor must find out which pictures are shared by the people involved and accept or tolerate those that are not shared (Glasser, 1984, pp. 27-28). In short, the supervisor must "not waste time and effort trying to control other people" (Glasser, 1990, p. 88), but must help to create organizational conditions that allow the teacher to experience work as need-satisfying. Just as teachers "tend to do far more to students who will not work than for them" (Glasser, 1984, p. 13), supervisors must spend less time evaluating and rewarding teachers and more time helping teachers to determine for themselves what is quality and what the teacher feels is the best way to work toward that quality.

Not surprisingly, these concepts of the role of the supervisor are strongly reinforced in the management literature advocated by Glasser. For example, under Likert's (1977) System 4 model, the supervisor works with the supervisee in setting goals, performing job evaluations, and establishing objectives. Among their four basic "human handling skills" necessary for supervisors, Bennis and Nanus (1985) stress "meaning through communication" and "trust through positioning" (pp. 26-27). "Trust implies accountability, predictability, and reliability" (p. 43). In her review of W. Edwards Deming's "Fourteen Points," Walton (1986) stresses such related supervisory issues as ceasing reliance on mass inspection and, instead, enlisting workers in the ongoing improvement of the process; improving constantly the system of production and service; helping people to do a better job and learning by objective methods who is in need of individual help; driving out fear; and removing barriers to pride of workmanship (pp. 34-36). In his work with Chester Karrass (1980), Glasser stresses that supervisors must be "warm, friendly, and concerned" about their subordinates, "give employees a chance to say what they are doing and what they are proud of," and help to develop "self-discipline" in employees (pp. 26-29).

Glasser's control theory model would call for a supervisor to explain much more than currently is typical . . .

Glasser's control theory model would call for a supervisor to explain much more than currently is typical, breaking tasks into recognizable parts, asking teachers if they agree that these components are worth performing, and encouraging teachers to make choices of actions that will both satisfy their individual needs and lead toward the desired educational goals (Glasser, 1990, p. 120). The intensiveness of this staff development role is alluded to in Glasser's earlier caution that "there is no power in superficial knowledge.... To get the depth that is necessary for many more of them [students] to make the vital relationship between knowledge and power, they need a chance to work on long-term projects with others" (Glasser, 1986, p. 72). The supervisor's role is partially to ensure that the issues brought before the teachers are highly relevant, but it is also to help teachers master new content in a way that increases their power. As Glasser notes, "We all recognize how much more powerful we feel when we solve a problem by figuring out a good answer than when we are asked to memorize a truth or recite it" (Glasser, 1986, p. 62). Such long-term, cooperative, problem-solving approaches have not been prevalent in most school staff development programs; however, recent emphases on peer-coaching and individual supervision (Glatthorn, 1990; Glickman, 1990) appear to provide tacit support for the validity of Glasser's recommendations.

This dual emphasis on staff development and problem solving is also reflected in Glasser's preferred management literature. Bennis and Nanus (1985) stress the importance of "positive self-regard," which is achieved through the "knowledge of one's strengths, the capacity to nurture and develop those strengths, and the ability to discern the fit between one's strengths and weaknesses and the organization's needs" (pp. 61-62). They also stress the empowering concept of "competence," which can only be accomplished through development and learning on the job (pp. 82-83). Likert's (1977) System 4 stresses the need for training of teams rather than merely individuals, thereby facilitating the problem-solving process. This system also stresses problem-solving by employees, advocating that such processes are best focused on problems at the superior's level (pp. 70-71). Deming devotes two of his "Fourteen Points" to staff development, stressing the need to "institute training" and to "institute a vigorous program of education and retraining" (Walton, 1986, pp. 35-36).

A supervisory model established in accordance with control theory would be a very highly collaborative model. As Glasser notes, "The real key is to make a joint evaluation of the situation and try cooperatively to correct it so that it works better for both parties. This way, not only does no one lose control, but both have a chance to get even more" (Glasser, 1984, p. 167). However, this does not imply that the supervisor may only intervene if the teacher is cognizant of a need for improvement or growth. In the event that the supervisor sees an area for growth or improvement and the teacher does not, Glasser advocates that the supervisor select one area in which he or she feels improvement might be warranted and point out to the teacher what both the supervisor and teacher might do in order to work in this area (Glasser, 1984, p. 167). By thus focusing on the situation rather than the teacher, and emphasizing what both teacher and supervisor can do to assist the situation, the supervisor runs much less of a risk of frustrating the teacher's needs for power, freedom, and cooperation.

Traditionally, even in those schools subscribing to developmental or clinical supervisory emphasis, such formative measures are "complemented" by a teacher evaluation system that is essentially summative in nature. The majority of these systems give strong emphasis to the teacher's performance during specific classroom observations/evaluations when defined criteria are typically utilized to assess all teachers uniformly. On the one hand, the extremely low percentage of teachers, nationally, who are dismissed or whose contracts are not renewed as a direct consequence of these teaching evaluations, suggests that the underlying belief system is, indeed, developmental rather that summatively judgmental. However, the formal design of the evaluation system and its overt message to teachers is clearly contrary to the precepts of control theory. What, then, would control theory appear to support as an alternative?

Glasser gives great attention to the need to shift the responsibility for evaluating student performance from the teacher to the student, stating: "You are aiming to have students see the quality of what you ask them to do. If they cannot see this, they will never do the high-level work that is the core of a quality school"

(Glasser, 1990, p. 158). Following his assertion that "once we become aware of a shortcoming, we cannot help trying to improve," he redefines the teacher/evaluator's role as: "your main interest is that they judge their performance; improving it is up to them" (Glasser, 1990, p. 159). It would appear that control theory would advocate a similar role definition for the campus administrator in "evaluating" teachers.

In the classroom, Glasser advocates that lead-teachers address this issue through the extensive use of "small cooperative groups ... in which students would help each other" (Glasser, 1990, p.33). He proposes that at least one capable student be assigned to each group, in order to model effective problem-solving techniques for the group. Such a proposal may be "translated" to the supervisory level as well, as is recently seen in peer tutoring and mentoring approaches to collaborative teacher development.

Implicit in this whole discussion is the evaluator/supervisor's relationship with the teacher. Glasser asserts that individuals generally feel conflict when one of two conditions exist: if the individual wants to satisfy two compatible "pictures" at the same time, or if others attempt to control him or her, especially if what they impose is not satisfying to the individual they are attempting to control (Glasser, 1984, p. 151).

The first form of conflict may be healthy, as long as the individual maintains control over the situation. It may be that the teacher must choose between the two conflicting "pictures," perhaps even relegating one of them to a condition in which it is no longer perceived as satisfying. For example, confronted with evidence that a new, perhaps somewhat intimidating instructional approach or behavior appears to afford greater student learning than previously adopted approaches or behaviors, the teacher may experience internal conflict. Control theory suggests that, given proper support, the teacher will recognize the potential quality difference and will replace the "pictures" of the previous behavior, heretofore perceived as satisfying, with "pictures" of the new behavior as being more satisfying.

On the other hand, if the locus of control is perceived as being external to the teacher, the nature of the conflict, and its potential resolution, are significantly different. For example, if the teacher perceives that the nature of the conflict is that the administrator is attempting to impose a change in behavior, the teacher may well view that change as coercive and not need-satisfying. Even though the teacher may effect the change in order to avoid overt conflict or sanctions, the teacher will not effectively replace the "picture" of the previous behavior with the "picture" of the new one in the "album of pictures" the teacher considers to be need-satisfying. On the one hand, the administrator's role is to create a warm, noncoercive relationship that allows the teacher to benefit from the administrator's knowledge and guidance, while still preserving the teacher's own responsibility for evaluation and control. At the same time the administrator must "fight to protect them from others who would boss them" (Glasser, 1990, p. 52). This clearly places the campus administrator in a classic "mid-management" role, with all of its accompanying hierarchical conflicts.

Entwined with this concept of the role is the administrator's use of criticism and praise in working with teachers. As Glasser notes, criticism makes people painfully aware of the difference between their "pictures" of the situation and their "pictures" of a "quality world." The more intimate the relationship ... the more destructive criticism is to its success (Glasser, 1984, p. 159). Conversely, he defines praise as a good motivator, "because it is spontaneous, varies with the performance, and always satisfies our need to belong" (Glasser, 1984, p. 168). Glasser cautions that unless the praise offered meets these criteria, it then becomes nongenuine and is viewed as a reward, inherently less satisfying because both punishment and reward threaten the individual's control and attempt to transfer power to an external force.

This emphasis is reflected in Likert's (1977) System 4 model, which emphasizes positive reinforcement from both the supervisor and work group members (p. 71). It is also inherent in Bennis and Nanus's (1985) concept of promoting self-regard. As they state, "leaders with positive self-regard rarely, if ever, have to rely on criticism or negative sanctions" (p. 64). These authors also stress what they refer to as "the Wallenda factor," a concept based on the precept that "all learning involves some 'failure,' something from which one can continue to learn. Reasonable failure should never be received with anger" (p. 75). Deming says, "It is necessary, for better quality and productivity, that people feel secure—not afraid to express ideas, not afraid to ask questions" (Walton, 1986, p. 72). Deming eschews performance ratings, merit ratings, or annual reviews of performance as being "devastating to teamwork and as building fear, leaving people bitter, despondent, and beaten" (Walton, 1986, p. 36).

However, Glasser cautions that while praise and criticism are readily understood forms of communication, "it can also be as much what we won't do, and make a point not to do, as it is what we do or say" (Glasser, 1984 p. 160). In essence, the administrator's role must be perceived as a support role by the teacher; the administrator must recognize that failure to support may be perceived as much a criticism as a form of external control. Conversely, other forms of support may generate the same positive effects as genuine praise.

. . . the administrator must recognize that failure to support may be perceived as much a criticism as a form of external control.

Another key to administrative support is found in Glasser's statement, "perhaps the most insidious form of criticism is self-criticism" (Glasser, 1984, p. 164). In this Glasser recognizes that the administrator's supervisory responsibility is not confined to his or her own statements or actions, but that the administrator must take a pro-active role in limiting teachers' self-criticism and in promoting their self-praise and self-esteem.

Glasser points out that "when you are having difficulty getting along with someone important to you, you should spend your energy on pictures you are fairly certain you can achieve" (Glasser, 1984, p. 173). This caution reinforces one of the principal tenets of the clinical supervision model: when working with a teacher in determining areas for improvement or growth, select a limited number of specific targets. These targets should be considered both in terms of their impact on the student learning process and in terms of their potential for short to medium-term success by the teacher. Clearly, long-term growth targets may also be considered, however, these would tend to be in areas in which little conflict or tension exists.

Glasser also addresses a variety of school climate issues. His model of motivation gives particular emphasis to the individual's need for fun. One way to provide for this need is to ask for the worker's input into how the job can be made more enjoyable. As another key to promoting "fun," Glasser notes, "tangible shared experiences must be planned on a regular basis or the relationship will deteriorate" (Glasser, 1984, p. 174).

The issue of soliciting teacher input as to how to make tasks more enjoyable ties well to another of the basic needs identified by Glasser, the teacher's need to feel successful in performing at a high level of quality. Glasser recommends that students "begin to evaluate every aspect of the school in which they are involved" (Glasser, 1990, p. 158), to "judge the quality of the life they are choosing to lead" (Glasser, 1990, p. 159). Similarly, administrators of such collaborative schools must encourage teachers to evaluate all aspects of the school and to provide input into how teachers' perceptions of that environment may be modified and seen as more satisfying. Recent advocates of restructuring have alluded to this need for teachers to be encouraged to assume more global professional roles in the schools. Such mechanisms as differentiated staffing and site-based management appear to be steps in this direction.

Conclusions

Perhaps the most precise summary of Glasser's Control Theory, and its implications, is found in Glasser's assertion: "To gain effective control of our lives, we have to satisfy what we believe is basic to us and learn to respect and not frustrate others in fulfilling what is basic to them" (Glasser, 1984, p. 16). This statement may serve appropriately as a school mission statement, an explanation of individual behavior, and as a guideline for campus administration in supervising faculty, staff, and students.

In "transposing" Glasser's recommendations to a role prescription for the campus administrator, the key is that the loci of control, power, and evaluation must remain with the teacher rather than supervisor. Glasser's definition of the role of teacher can also be considered to define the essence of the campus administrative role, which is to show and model what is to be done and to create a good environment in which to work. As Glasser stresses, attempts to manage must not be attempts to make people subservient, but rather to consider their needs and to help them to develop "pictures" that are both satisfying to the individual and to the goals of the organization.

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Censorship and the Public School Library: A Bi-Coastal View

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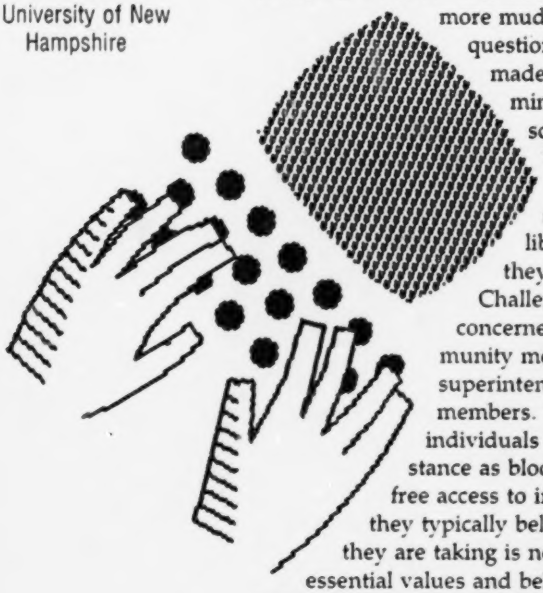
Preface

One of the pressing issues facing today's public school educators is the issue of censorship. Since the late 1970s, the issue of censorship has emerged in the areas of student publication, the classroom, and the school library. The right of the parents to direct the upbringing of their child, the duty of the school board to direct what should be taught, and the students' right to learn are often in conflict.

This paper will examine the legal parameters of the removal of public school library books; the library challenges experienced by selected public school districts in California and New Hampshire; and whether the district followed its own policies when processing the challenge.

Introduction

Censorship is the removal, suppression, or restriction of materials due to controversial content. Such content generally concerns family values, political views, religion/occultism, and the rights of minorities. In the United States, censorship is often considered unacceptable when the challenger attempts to restrict materials that are made available to adults. However, the commitment to this fundamental freedom often waivers when the recipient of the information is a minor. This issue becomes even more muddled when the questionable materials are made available to these minors through the schools (Reichman, 1988).



Challengers seek to exclude library materials that they find objectionable. Challengers range from concerned parents and community members to school superintendents and board members. Generally, these individuals do not view their stance as blocking the right to free access to information. Instead, they typically believe that the action they are taking is necessary to uphold essential values and beliefs. They often believe they are protecting the children from some type of harm. Challengers frequently argue that children have no right to information and even if they do, overriding reasons justly restrict this right in the school setting.

Individuals allied against a challenge to school library materials, on the other hand, believe that in order for a school to fulfill its mission of educating its students, it must teach students to understand and tolerate diversity in beliefs and values. They believe education should not only transmit community values, but it should also prepare the individual to engage in informed inquiry and debate. The spectrum of knowledge should be expanded not restricted.

The issue of library book challenges is one faced by many school administrators and librarians throughout the country. Proponents on both sides of the issue believe with equal conviction that they are doing what is best for children. The issue is often not resolved by the school administrator or the board of education no matter how assiduously they follow their own policies. As with most social issues in the United States, censorship in the public school library has been brought before the bar for the courts to resolve.

The Role of the Public School

Public education in the United States plays a dual role. One of the aims of education is the conservative act of enculturation to preserve the status quo of the state (Wingo, 1965). Another aim is the cultivation of the individual for the good life and the possibilities that exist beyond the present (Goldman, 1989). Along this same line, Lawrence Cremin (1976), a noted historian of education, asserts that the important questions that education raises for resolution go "to the heart of the kind of society we want to live in and the kind of society we want our children to live in" (pp. 74-75). A dynamic tension exists between these two aims of education—the enculturation of the individual into the existing society and the cultivation of the individual for the good society that does not yet exist.

While many individuals have their own philosophies regarding the role or purpose of education, decision making regarding public school education is generally the responsibility of elected representatives such as school or governing board members. In turn, these elected representatives delegate some of their ministerial tasks to school administrators and teachers. However, the representatives retain responsibility for all discretionary matters. School board authority is not unlimited, however. While the courts hesitate to get involved in the day-to-day decision making of school officials, the courts will not allow an abuse of discretion which results in the violation of a student's fundamental rights (*Meyer v. Nebraska*).

One court concluded that ". . . we are not to strangle the free mind at its source and teach youth to discount important principles of our government as mere platitudes" (*West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* at 637). The court concluded that the First Amendment is important to assure individualism and cultural diversity in society. This belief was echoed in *Shelton v. Tucker* when the Supreme Court stated that "the vigilant protection of constitutional freedoms is no where more vital than in the community of American schools" (at 487).

Later cases reaffirmed the principles set forth in both *Barnette* and *Shelton*. In *Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, the court determined that there must be protection of constitutional freedoms in schools because the schools are a "market place of ideas" (at 603). And, in *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District*, the court determined that school officials do not possess absolute authority over students. School officials' authority must be exercised within limits so that students' fundamental rights are not violated. The court pointed out in this case, that students are persons under the Constitution and are, therefore, entitled to protection of their fundamental rights.

However, no case more clearly established the responsibility of the local school board than *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District*:

> School officials do not possess absolute authority over their students. Students in school as well as out of school are 'persons' under our Constitution. They are possessed of fundamental rights which the State must respect, just as they themselves must respect their obligations to the State. In our system, students may not be regarded as closed-circuit recipients of only that which the State chooses to communicate. They may not be confined to the expression of those sentiments that are officially approved. (at 512)

Thus, decision making regarding public schools is the responsibility of the elected officials, and the courts will not interfere unless a student's constitutional rights come into question. Having established that students are guaranteed basic fundamental freedoms, it is necessary to examine whether the fundamental rights of students are implicated in decisions to remove or restrict public school library materials.

The Legal Parameters

The fundamental right at issue in all public school library material challenges is the students' right to receive information. The United States Supreme Court first recognized this First Amendment right in 1943. In the case of *Martin v. Struthers*, the court invalidated an Ohio anti-solicitation ordinance. The court implied through its holding that individuals have the right to hear or receive information.

Due to the fundamental right involved, the American judiciary has had an opportunity to review school library material censorship disputes on many occasions. However, the constitutional issues surrounding the authority of a school board to remove materials from a public school library or restrict the use of such materials by students are far from settled.

The only United States Supreme Court case dealing with the removal of books from a school library is *Board of Education, Island Trees Union Free School District No. 26 v. Pico*. In this case, the Board of Education of the school district had appointed a book review committee consisting of four parents and four school staff members to read 11 books. The charge of the committee was to recommend to the board whether the books should remain in the library. The committee was to evaluate the books, taking into account the educational suitability, good taste, relevance, and appropriateness to age and grade level. The committee's report to the board recommended that five of the books remain in the school library and that two others be removed. As for the other four books, the committee could not agree on two, took no position on one, and recommended that one book be made available to students only with parental approval. The board rejected the recommendations of the committee and removed nine of the books, made one available subject to parental approval, and returned one to the library with no restriction.

Students sued the school district contending that the removal of books from the school library by the Board of Education violated their guarantees of free speech under the First Amendment. The federal district court granted summary judgment before trial in favor of the Board of Education on the grounds that no constitutional issue was raised. The Court of Appeals reversed and remanded the case back to the district court for trial. The Supreme Court granted review to consider whether the First Amendment imposes limitations upon a school board to exercise its discretion to remove library books from school libraries.

The court agreed that there was a material issue of fact that precluded summary judgment in favor of the school board, and, therefore, remanded the action for trial. However, with respect to the issues on the implication of the First Amendment to the action of a school board in removing books from a school library, the justices were split.

Justice Brennan, in the plurality opinion formed by Justices Marshall and Stevens and joined in part by Justices Blackmun and White, concluded that the First Amendment does impose limits upon the discretion of school boards and that the removal of books from a school library might violate the First Amendment rights of students under certain circumstances. As in previous federal decisions, the plurality acknowledged that school boards traditionally have been granted broad discretion in the management of local school affairs and courts should be reluctant to intervene. In addition, the plurality recognized that schools have an important duty to inculcate community values and to promote traditional ideals to the students in their charge, but emphasized that school boards must operate within the constraints of the First Amendment. Following the precedent established in *Tinker*, the plurality noted that the students do not shed their constitutional rights to freedom of expression or speech at the schoolhouse gate. Although courts should intervene in the resolution of any conflicts that arise in the daily operations of school districts only when basic constitutional rights are directly and sharply implicated, the plurality held that the First Amendment rights of students could be directly and sharply implicated by removing books from the school library.

Justices Brennan, Marshall, and Stevens also found the right to receive information and ideas to be a necessary corollary to the rights of free speech and press. They believed that students should be prepared to participate in the political system and should have access to the marketplace of ideas so that they will be free to choose among those ideas. The justices found that the school library is a part of school where no one is forced to read a specific book and, therefore, is an appropriate place for students to exercise their right to receive information and ideas.

Although a school board has substantial discretion to determine the school library's collection:

> Our Constitution does not permit the official suppression of ideas. Thus, whether petitioners' removal of books from their school libraries denied respondents their First Amendment rights depends upon the motivation behind petitioners' actions. If the petitioners intended by their removal decision to deny respondents access to ideas with which petitioners disagreed, and if this intent was the decisive factor in petitioners' decision [footnote omitted], then petitioners have exercised their discretion in violation of the Constitution. (at 871)

The plurality explained that by "decisive factor," they meant a "substantial factor" in the absence of which the opposite decision would have been reached. The plurality noted, however, that an unconstitutional motivation would not be demonstrated if the decision to remove the books was due to their pervasive vulgarity or was based solely upon the "educational suitability" of the books.

In deciding whether the school board may have been improperly motivated, the plurality pointed out that the board had rejected the recommendations of the book review committee which was to have made its recommendations "based on criteria that appear on their face to be permissible—the books' 'educational suitability,' 'good taste,' 'relevance' and 'appropriateness to age and grade level'" (at 873). They noted that this would be a different case if the board had "employed established, regular, and facially unbiased procedures for the review of controversial materials" since such procedures might "tend to allay suspicions of political intent" (at 874).

Thus, the high Court listed the two criteria in which removal of public school library books must be based: pervasive vulgarity and educational suitability. Unfortunately, the Court did not go beyond stating the criteria. It did not articulate or give substance to what these two criteria mean or what they consist of.

The second requirement that came out of the *Pico* decision was that a school board employ established, regular, and facially unbiased procedures for review of challenged books. This procedure typically involves the use of a committee.

At this time the plurality opinion will more than likely remain controlling until the Supreme Court examines the issue again. The plurality opinion finds that students have a constitutionally protected right to receive ideas and information and that the special nature of the school library makes it the place within the school where students can assert this right. Furthermore, although a school board has significant discretion to determine the content of a school library, such discretion may not be exercised in a narrowly partisan or political manner. Once a book has been selected for a school library, the students have a constitutionally protected right of access to that book unless the school board can show a constitutionally permissible reason for its restriction or removal, such as educational unsuitability or pervasive vulgarity.

. . . although a school board has significant discretion to determine the content of a school library, such discretion may not be exercised in a narrowly partisan or political manner.

The Study

As in many states, California and New Hampshire have granted local school boards the discretionary right to make decisions regarding the selection of materials to be used by the students of their district.

School library services include the provision, organization, and utilization of materials and the related activities supportive of the educational requirements prescribed by the law and by the school district, and may include the provision of a collection of materials and resources that support the curriculum and are appropriate for user needs. Persons employed by a school district as school librarians are responsible to perform the duties assigned by the governing board, including, but not limited to, selecting materials for school libraries, subject to such policies, rules, and regulations as may be established by the governing board for the operation and utilization of school libraries.

While school officials have been granted the above described authority, such authority is not unlimited as has been previously discussed. Book restrictions or removals may be challenged, and districts must be prepared to defend their decisions. The motivation behind a book restriction or removal is a key factor in determining the appropriateness of the action taken by the board, and districts must show that they have "established," "regular," and "facially unbiased" policies for review of challenged books in their schools' libraries.

To gain a perspective on the issue of public school library material censorship, 39 school districts in California and 61 supervisory administrative units (S.A.U.) in New Hampshire[1] were randomly selected and were sent surveys. The study sought to answer the following six research questions:

1. Did the selected school districts in California and New Hampshire receive any challenges to their library materials in the last five years? If yes, how many challenges were received?
2. What material was challenged?
3. Who was the challenger?
4. How successful was the challenger in his/her attempt to remove or restrict the challenged material?
5. In handling the challenge, did the district follow its own policy?
6. Is the district policy consistent with the United States Supreme Court decision in *Board of Education, Island Trees Union Free School District No. 26 v. Pico?*

The districts and S.A.U.s surveyed represented a cross-section of rural, suburban, and urban school districts. Forty-nine districts responded to the survey: 37 S.A.U.s in New Hampshire and 12 districts in California. The responding districts ranged in population from 256 to 45,000 students.

Discussion

Of the 49 districts that responded to the survey, 12 (22%) experienced a challenge within the last five years. New Hampshire had seven requests for reconsideration of library materials of the 37 responses (19%). Two districts experienced two challenges each. Of the 12 responding districts from California, five (41%) experienced a challenge. The total number of challenges was 14. One challenge involved 11 unspecified books.

The 14 challenges experienced by the 12 districts ranged from six at the elementary school level, five at the middle school level, to three at the high school level. Of the 14 challenges, no duplication of books was noted. The most often cited reasons for the challenge were obscenity and occultism. The challenges were predominantly brought by parents, with one challenge being made by a teacher and another by unspecified community members. Three of the 14 challenges were transmitted orally with the remainder being written. Seven resolutions to the 14 challenges resulted in no restrictions or changes in the status of the book. Two books were removed from the library. Two were moved to school libraries at the next higher level. One was kept in the library, but a recommendation was made that the book be checked out only by sixth graders. In one situation, the children of the parents who made the challenge were restricted from checking out the book. And, the last of the 14 challenges resulted in the principal placing the challenged book in his/her desk and keeping it there.

The most often cited reasons for the challenge were obscenity and occultism.

The fifth research question seeks to find out whether school administrators followed the district's policy pertaining to library challenges. First of all, 17 of the 49 responding districts did not send a copy of the applicable policy as requested. It is not known whether this was just an oversight or was indicative of a lack of a policy. Of the 14 challenges, in six instances the administrators did not follow their own policies. The common problem was not including all of the members in the review that was called for in the policy. For example, in the *Slaughter House Five* challenge, a library media person did not serve on the committee as called for in the policy. Another example of not following district policy occurred in the case of the parents' challenge of the *Collected Poems of Allan Ginsburg*. The book was reviewed after an oral complaint was lodged with a board member. The procedure calls for all complaints to be presented in writing. The procedure also calls for a building-level review of the book by a committee composed of the principal and four other staff members. Instead, the challenge was handled by the "principal—with district concurrence." Probably the most egregious flaunting of policy occurred in *The Revenge of the Wizard's Ghost*. The principal, when presented with the challenge, removed the book from the library and placed it in his/her desk. A review committee was never convened, the book just disappeared into the desk.

The responses are summarized on page 51.

As noted previously, the United States Supreme Court in *Pico* calls for a review of challenged material by a facially neutral process that tries to ensure that the content of the message is not censored. The content-neutral process must use the dual criteria of educational suitability and pervasive vulgarity.

A comparison of the policies and the *Pico* decision reveal that all of the policies meet the rudiments of a neutral process. Some policies go to greater lengths than others in pursuit of this goal, and some meet the barest minimal standard. One policy that barely meets the standard rests the power in the hands of the principal to determine whether the threshold has been met that would trigger a full-scale review. The policy reads in part: "The Principal, if necessary, will appoint a re-evaluation committee...." Other policies call for elaborate procedures of review that specify the composition of the committee and a step-by-step flow chart of the procedure to be used. In contrast, another policy probably goes beyond what is allowed in *Pico*. The pertinent section of that policy reads: "The books or materials involved will be suspended pending a decision in writing by the above committee."

Most of the policies, while meeting *Pico's* dictate of a neutral procedure, do not meet the twin criteria of educational suitability and pervasive vulgarity. Most policies do not list any criteria, let alone the twin *Pico* criteria. Several policies rely on the term "professional opinion" with no further elaboration. Any mention of the twin criteria often appears tangential at best.

Although the lack of sufficient specificity of criteria for evaluation is a major common denominator in most policies, there were a few policies that met the dictates of *Pico*. One school district in particular worked towards meeting *Pico* requirements. Its review policy stated in part:

> C. Materials shall be appropriate for the subject area and for the age, maturation, ability level and social development of the students for whom the materials are selected.

Another shortcoming noted in the analysis was that many of the policies lacked a specific policy for reconsideration of library books. For many of the school districts, the policy regarding challenges to library books is a part of a general challenge policy on instructional materials. This is done even though the standard of review for library books and curricular materials is different.

ELEMENTARY

Book	*Reason*	*Who*	*How*	*Resolution*	*Policy*
Being Born	Infringes on information a parent should share with children regarding childbirth	Parent	Written	Own children can't check out book	Yes
Revenge of the Wizard's Ghost	Ghostly possession	Parent	Oral	Principal kept the book	No, did not involve others
Undisclosed Title	Obscene	Parent	Written	Kept in library	No, teachers involved
Occult World	Occultism	Parent	Written	Moved to high school based on reading level	Yes
Are You There God, Its Me Margaret	Too explicit, discussed masturbation & necking	Parent	Written	Moved to Middle School	Yes
Jacob, Have I Loved	Inferred sexual activity	Teacher	Written	Kept in library, recommend for 6th graders only	Yes

MIDDLE SCHOOL

Book	*Reason*	*Who*	*How*	*Resolution*	*Policy*
Slaughter House Five	Obscene	Parent	Written	Kept in library	No, did not include a library media person
The Chocolate War	Obscene, violent	Parent	Written	Kept in library	Yes
Rolling Stones Magazine	Immoral, obscene	Parent	Written	Kept in library	Yes
Witches and Witchcraft	Satanic and sexual themes	Community members	Written	Removed	Yes
Encyclopedia of Weaponry	Condones violence and war	Parent	Written	Kept in library	No, teachers on committee

HIGH SCHOOL

Book	*Reason*	*Who*	*How*	*Resolution*	*Policy*
Color Purple	Obscene	Parent	Oral	Kept in library	No, selected staff
Collected Poems of Allan Ginsburg	Obscene	Parent	Oral	Removed	No, not in writing didn't include full committee
11 books on Satanism	Satanism	Parents	Oral & written	Kept in library	Yes

Conclusion

In conclusion, censorship of public school library materials is a problem that is being experienced by school districts from coast to coast. The challenges are felt at the elementary, middle school, and high school levels. When processing these challenges, a substantial number of schools are not following their own policies. And many of the policies, while incorporating the *Pico* demand for an unbiased procedure for review, do not set forth a clear charge as to the role of the review committee. Criteria for the review committee were either missing or so vague that guidance was not possible. Educational suitability and pervasive vulgarity rarely surfaced as terms in the policies.

. . . censorship of public school library materials is a problem that is being experienced by school districts from coast to coast.

School districts will continue to receive challenges to their school library collections as long as the aims of education and the means used to achieve those aims are in dispute. School boards, while enjoying wide discretion with regard to educational issues, cannot disregard the First Amendment rights of students to free speech and, as a corollary, the right to receive information. The prudent school district will adopt procedures that are established and unbiased so as to minimize the chance that ideas are being suppressed because of their content. The policy charge to the review committee should include guidelines that define and give substance to the *Pico* criteria of educational suitability and pervasive vulgarity. These steps are not magic bullets that ward off law suits; instead, they are prudent steps to help ensure that constitutional freedoms will be protected.

Footnote

[1] An S.A.U. is an organization that often includes two or more small school districts. All school districts in New Hampshire are part of an S.A.U.

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Principal Effectiveness and the Importance of Effectiveness Indicators

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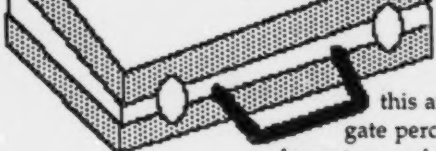
Introduction

This research project assessed five aspects: the overall effectiveness of principals, the effectiveness of principals on specific dimensions, the importance of indicators for assessing the effectiveness of principals, the association between these two matters, and the relationship between overall effectiveness and selected demographic characteristics. Opinions were obtained from elementary and junior high school principals throughout Alberta as well as from assistant superintendents and teachers in one Alberta city. Most principals rated themselves as moderately effective: the ratings by area superintendents and teachers were somewhat lower.

Although principals rated themselves as most effective in "exercising exemplary behavior," they identified the most important indicator of their effectiveness as "communicating with staff." Comparisons of effectiveness levels and effectiveness indicators revealed some marked similarities as well as major differences. Similarities and differences were also obtained between the elementary and junior high principals on some dimensions of effectiveness and importance.

Widely documented support exists in the literature for the proposition that the principal is the key determinant of a school's effectiveness. Consequently, related research should address the behavior, responsibilities, and perceptions of principals, as well as matters such as job satisfaction, stress, and working conditions that might impinge on a principal's effectiveness. In particular, practitioners may benefit from the development of indicators against which the effectiveness of administrators can be assessed. With the current thrust towards self-managing schools, as described by Caldwell and Spinks (1988), the dimensions of principal effectiveness are likely to attract increasing attention during the 1990s.



The study described in this article was designed to investigate perceptions of the effectiveness of elementary and junior high school principals and the importance of several effectiveness indicators. An even more fundamental purpose was to compare these perceptions of current effectiveness with the importance of effectiveness indicators in order to assess the performance of principals in dimensions identified as the most important. To help with the development of theories relevant to specific types of organizations, as recommended by Griffiths (1988) and others, the investigation also compared these perceptions across two school levels. Judgments about principals' effectiveness were provided by school principals in Alberta and by area superintendents and teachers in one major city in Alberta.

Relevant Literature

One recurring feature in the effective schools literature from several countries is the assertion that principals can exert a powerful influence on school effectiveness (e.g., Bolam, 1990; Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, & Lee, 1982; Duignan, 1985; Johnson & Snyder, 1985; Renihan & Renihan, 1984). Researchers, theorists, and reviewers have developed lists of behavioral characteristics, which are thought to represent desirable qualities of school leadership.

For example, Bossert et al. (1982) proposed that effective principals are skilled in developing an atmosphere of commitment and high morale among staff and that they focus on development and achievement of goals, evaluation and improvement of programs and personnel, and instructional leadership. Bolam (1990) extracted from a secondary school study in Britain (Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, & Smith, 1979) three characteristics of effective school management: strong leadership, involvement of staff, and effort to create a positive school culture. Bolam added that recent British research in elementary schools has disclosed the importance of four desirable attributes of leaders: purposeful leadership, involvement of the deputy principal, direction of staff toward school goals, and parental involvement in the school. Johnson and Snyder's (1985) American perspective on productive principalship referred to developing and promoting achievement of school goals, fostering the professional growth of staff at school, establishing high instructional expectations, allocating resources appropriately to fulfil instructional goals, and evaluating the performance of staff and students. Pratt and Common's (1986) Canadian review resulted in a similar list of attributes of effective principals: clear, academically oriented school goals; high expectations of staff and students; and a participative style of management. These sets of authors generally identified leadership, goals, participative management, evaluation, expectations, and professional growth.

Pratt and Common (1986) also emphasized the principal's major responsibility for instructional leadership. While this dimension of principalship is widely supported, much uncertainty exists about what constitutes "instructional leadership." For example, Pratt and Common highlighted technical skills such as teaching, testing, remediating, and organizing instruction. For other writers (e.g., Murphy, Hallinger, Weil, & Mitman, 1985), instructional leadership is almost as broad a concept as is effective principalship itself. Moreover, the desirability of instructional leadership is also open to debate. For example, Campbell, Corbally, and Nystrand (1983) took exception to this view on three grounds: (a) principals are first and foremost line officers responsible to school systems, (b) principals cannot remain highly competent in the technical areas of subject matter specializations, and (c) principals are answerable to multiple stakeholders, all of whom demand and deserve some time and attention.

. . . no satisfactory consensus has yet been reached on outstanding attributes of school effectiveness and principal effectiveness.

The idea of developing a generalizable "formula" for effective school leadership also contrasts with some well-known literature about effective organizational leadership. The leadership styles tradition (e.g., Blake & Mouton, 1964) was founded on a two-factor premise of administrative emphasis on consideration (person) and/or initiating structure (task). However, Fiedler (1967) also highlighted the situational nature of leadership by proposing that appropriate leadership depends on the relationship between the leader and the group members, on the task structure, and on the leader's position power.

Leithwood and Montgomery's (1986) conceptualization of the principal's contribution to school effectiveness also indicated the need for a more balanced view of principal effectiveness than is implied in some of the foregoing commentaries. While these Canadian researchers agreed that effective principals can influence school performance, this influence was said to be affected by personal and contextual conditions. Recognizing that the principal may not be the sole instrument of school effectiveness, Leithwood and Montgomery based their analyses of aspects of the principal's role on four dimensions in which principal behavior may improve school effectiveness: goals, factors that affect students' experiences, strategies for exerting influence, and decision making. Effectiveness in these four dimensions was also viewed as ascending from the marginally effective level of "the administrator," through "humanitarian" and "program manager," to the highly effective "problem solver" level of principal behavior.

Examples of their four dimensions are provided below:

1. goals-achieve maximum productivity; provide maximum assistance to staff; prepare independent, productive learners
2. factors that affect students' experiences-instructional schedules; instructional practices; assessment practices; and teacher-student relationships
3. strategies for exerting influence-building and maintaining personal relationships; monitoring programs; providing support resources; and evaluating staff
4. decision-making-clarifying problems; using information; monitoring the decision-making process; and using different procedures

Such an expansive array of variables surpasses the more limited effectiveness checklists propounded in some of the literature cited above, and it matches some research findings on educational evaluation; for example, Pitner and Hocevar (1987) proposed 23 parallel indicators for appraising principals.

Despite the growing body of effectiveness research, no satisfactory consensus has yet been reached on outstanding attributes of school effectiveness and principal effectiveness. Research is still needed in a range of locations to identify priorities in the many administrative dimensions that may be associated with the effectiveness of principals.

Method

In 1983-84, a research project examined perceptions of principals of senior high schools (grades 10-12) in Alberta about the effectiveness of their schools and themselves as principals, as well as other variables (Gunn & Holdaway, 1986). The study reported in this article built upon that earlier study by obtaining responses from "pure" elementary (kindergarten-grade 6 or grades 1-6) and "pure" junior high school (grades 7-9) principals in Alberta. However, this second study used a more comprehensive list of principal effectiveness dimensions—also referred to as indicators—by adding variables identified in the literature; it also examined the perceived importance of individual dimensions for determining overall effectiveness. Perceptions of principal effectiveness and importance of indicators were also obtained from area superintendents in the two school districts in one city in order to obtain comparative data and to check the perceptions of principals.

Teachers in these districts also provided perceptions of principal effectiveness Such comparisons have been advocated by Hoy and Ferguson (1985).

Research Questions

The following research questions were developed from the literature review and from the authors' experience:

1.(a) What are the perceptions of principals concerning their overall effectiveness?

1.(b) How do the perceptions of area superintendents and teachers about the effectiveness of principals differ from those of principals?

2.(a) What are the perceptions of principals concerning their effectiveness on specific dimensions?

2.(b) How do the perceptions of area superintendents about effectiveness of principals on specific dimensions differ from those of principals?

3.(a) What are the perceptions of principals concerning the importance of indicators for overall principal effectiveness?

3.(b) How do the perceptions of area superintendents about the most important indicators of principal effectiveness differ from those of principals?

4. What relationship exists between the ranks of the principals' mean scores for effectiveness and importance of indicators for overall principal effectiveness?

5. What relationships exist between principals' ratings of their overall effectiveness and selected demographic variables?

Questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were used to obtain information from principals. Parallel questionnaires were developed for elementary and junior high school principals. The overall principal effectiveness item and nine of the 29 dimensions on which principal effectiveness and importance were rated were based on those in the senior high school questionnaire. All remaining variables were gleaned from the literature on effectiveness of principals. The following are examples: exercising instructional leadership (Murphy et al., 1985), allocating tasks appropriately among staff (Johnson & Snyder, 1985), promoting the achievement of school goals (Hoy & Ferguson, 1985; Sweeney, 1982), promoting high expectations among staff members (Pratt & Common, 1986), fostering the professional growth of staff members (Fullan, 1985; Little, 1982), and enlisting the support of parents (Payne, 1987).

The effectiveness scale in the questionnaire used these response categories: 1-highly ineffective, 2-moderately ineffective, 3-slightly ineffective, 4-slightly effective, 5-moderately effective, and 6-highly effective. A four-point scale was used for rating the importance of individual dimensions for overall effectiveness: 1-not important, 2-slightly important, 3-moderately important, and 4-highly important. Questionnaires were mailed to a 20% sample of 131 elementary school principals and to all 94 junior high school principals in Alberta. Usable responses were received from 112 (elementary) and 84 (junior high) principals: the respective percentage returns were 85.5% and 89.4%.

Schools that were in the large city chosen for a comparative investigation also received questionnaires for completion by teachers; however, the matter of principal effectiveness was investigated only by an overall rating by teachers. The nine area superintendents with responsibility for these schools also rated each principal's overall effectiveness and effectiveness on 12 of the dimensions with which area superintendents were familiar. Questionnaires were coded to permit responses to be compared for each school. Satisfactory rates of return were obtained from all three types of respondents in this city sub-sample: for the 34 elementary schools—88.2% of principals, 66.7% of teachers, and 97.1% of schools by area superintendents; for the 22 junior high schools—95.5% of principals, 52% of teachers, and 100% of schools by area superintendents.

Content validity and reliability of the instruments were assured by several methods: (a) basing the instruments on a questionnaire known to have high validity and reliability; (b) pilot-testing twice using expert researchers and practitioners; and (c) receiving favorable reactions from principals about the comprehensiveness and relevance of the questionnaires. Reliability was also assessed by the Guttman split-half (odd-even) technique; extremely high correlation coefficients—.93 to .96—were obtained.

Percentage frequency distributions and means were calculated, and Spearman and Kendall correlation coefficients were used to determine the association between ranks of parallel sets of variables.

Follow-up interviews were conducted with stratified samples of 10 elementary and 10 junior high principals to probe the results of analyzing the questionnaire responses and obtain additional insights.

Some demographic information about the schools and principals is provided in Table 1. The most common size of elementary schools was fewer than 300 students; for junior high schools, the most common size was 300-499 students. Most of the principals were male (80% elementary and 95% junior high), with the most common age group being 40-49 years (47% elementary and 58% junior high). With respect to career aspirations, 56% of both groups wished to remain as principals, while 20% and 29% aspired to the positions of superintendent or assistant superintendent.

Results

A great deal of information about the results is presented in Tables 2 and 3, so the following text concentrates more upon the major findings and relevant examples.

Research Question 1(a): "What are the perceptions of principals concerning their overall effectiveness?"

Analysis of questionnaire data produced mean scores for overall effectiveness of principals that were high at both levels: 5.13 on the 6-point scale for elementary principals and 5.14 for junior high principals. Table 2 shows the percentage frequency distributions of levels of principals' overall effectiveness. About three-quarters of both groups of principals assessed themselves as "moderately effective."

Research Question 1(b): "How do the perceptions of area superintendents and teachers about the overall effectiveness of principals differ from those of principals?"

The mean scores for overall effectiveness of elementary school principals in the major city were as follows: by principals, 5.14; by teachers, 5.04; and by area superintendents, 4.69. For the junior high principals, these means were 5.14, 4.93, and 4.82, respectively.

Table 1
Attributes of Respondents and Their Schools

Attribute	Elementary (n = 112) %	Junior (n = 84) %
Number of students enrolled		
Fewer than 300	63	26
300-499	33	40
500-699	4	31
700 or more	–	2
Gender of principals		
Female	20	5
Male	80	95
Age of principals		
Less than 40 years	27	14
40-49	47	58
50-59	22	24
60-65	4	4
Career aspirations of principals		
Principalship	56	56
Superintendent/Assistant Superintendent	20	29
Other	24	15

Table 2
Percentage Frequency Distribution of Levels of Principals' Overall Effectiveness

Response category	Elementary (n = 112) %f	Junior high (n = 83) %f
1. Highly ineffective	0	0
2. Moderately ineffective	0	0
3. Slightly ineffective	0	0
4. Slightly effective	5	6
5. Moderately effective	78	74
6. Highly effective	17	21
Mean	5.13	5.14

Note. One of the 84 junior high school principals who returned the questionnaires (see Table 1) did not answer the question on overall effectiveness.

Table 3
Means and Ranks of 29 Dimensions for (a) Perceived Principal Effectiveness and (b) Importance for Principal Effectiveness

Principal effectiveness dimension	Elementary				Junior High			
	Effectiveness		Importance		Effectiveness		Importance	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
1. Exercising exemplary behavior at school	5.37	1	3.76	14.5	5.35	1	3.67	17.5
2. Making timely, appropriate, and acceptable decisions	5.29	2	3.89	4	5.28	4	3.89	3
3. Communicating with staff	5.28	3	3.97	1	5.33	2	3.94	1
4. Providing an appropriate work environment for students and staff	5.26	4	3.79	10.5	5.18	6	3.76	12
5. Promoting high expectations among staff members	5.22	5.3	3.79	10.5	5.17	8.5	3.88	4.5
6. Communicating with students	5.22	5.3	3.80	9	5.17	7	3.80	10
7. Enlisting the support of parents	5.22	5.3	3.85	7.5	5.13	11.5	3.73	14.3
8. Fostering high morale among staff and students	5.21	8	3.89	5	5.12	13	3.86	7.5
9. Allocating resources	5.18	9	3.53	24	5.16	10	3.49	25
10. Encouraging high expectations of students	5.13	10	3.91	3	5.26	5	3.91	2
11. Coordinating the development of school goals	5.13	11.5	3.72	16	5.07	15	3.81	9
12. Allocating tasks appropriately among staff	5.13	11.5	3.71	17	5.28	3	3.73	14.3
13. Providing feedback to staff	5.11	13	3.87	6	5.13	11.5	3.86	7.5
14. Coping with emergencies and overloads of work	5.09	14	3.66	19	5.05	17	3.60	21.5
15. Promoting the achievement of school goals	5.08	15	3.76	14.5	4.95	22	3.75	13
16. Exercising instructional leadership	5.05	16	3.78	12	4.99	19	3.77	11
17. Obtaining qualified staff	5.03	17	3.91	2	4.93	24	3.87	6
18. Fostering the professional growth of staff members	5.02	18	3.64	20	5.05	17	3.62	20
19. Coping with uncertainty and conflict	5.00	19	3.69	18	5.17	8.5	3.67	17.5
20. Increasing the job satisfaction of staff members	4.99	20	3.78	13	4.96	20	3.73	14.3
21. Working with teachers to develop or change policies	4.98	21	3.57	22	5.05	17	3.60	21.5
22. Evaluating staff members	4.96	22	3.63	21	5.10	14	3.64	19
23. Publicizing school goals	4.96	23	3.47	25	4.86	25	3.55	23
24. Coordinating and integrating the activities of staff groups/departments	4.93	24	3.42	27	4.96	21	3.50	24
25. Identifying community expectations	4.92	25	3.55	23	4.77	27	3.49	26
26. Adapting policies and procedures to respond to external changes and expectations	4.89	26.5	3.38	28	4.79	26	3.41	27
27. Communicating with community groups	4.89	26.5	3.46	26	4.73	28	3.28	28
28. Improving the performance of staff	4.88	28	3.85	7.5	4.95	23	3.88	4.5
29. Enlisting the support of the non-parent community	4.29	29	2.97	29	4.17	29	3.01	29

Research Question 2(a): "What are the perceptions of principals concerning their effectiveness on specific role dimensions?"

Means for effectiveness on specific dimensions ranged from 4.29-5.37 for elementary school principals and from 4.17-5.35 for junior high principals. The highest mean for both types of schools related to "exercising exemplary behavior at school" and the lowest was for "enlisting the support of the non-parent community." Means and ranks of means for all 29 items for effectiveness and importance appear in Table 3.

The Spearman and Kendall coefficients revealed a high level of agreement between the ranks of effectiveness on different dimensions (elementary, .86; junior high, .71). Both groups ranked first in "exercising exemplary behavior at school"; both also ranked highly in "communicating with staff" (ranks of 3 and 2), "making timely appropriate, and acceptable decisions" (2, 4), and "providing an appropriate work environment for students and staff" (4, 6). There were few pronounced discrepancies, although junior high principals ranked substantially higher for effectiveness in "allocating tasks appropriately among staff" (11.5, 3) and "coping with uncertainty and conflict" (19, 8.5).

Research Question 2(b): "How do the perceptions of area superintendents about effectiveness of principals on specific dimensions differ from those of principals?"

The nine area superintendents rated the effectiveness of their principals on items 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 22, 23, 28, and 29 in Table 3. On 11 of these 12 items, the superintendents' mean score ranged from 0.3-0.6 lower than the principals' mean score, with the largest discrepancy (5.4 vs. 4.8) being obtained for both "evaluating staff members" and "providing an appropriate work environment for students and staff." Only on "enlisting the support of the non-parent community" was the superintendents' mean score higher, being 4.2 vs. 4.0 for the principals.

Research Question 3: "What are the perceptions of principals concerning the importance of indicators for overall principal effectiveness?"

As shown in Table 3, the means of the principals' ratings of importance of indicators for overall principal effectiveness ranged from 2.97-3.97 for elementary schools and from 3.01-3.94 for junior high schools, with a marked tendency toward the upper end of the scale. The highest mean importance scores for both school levels were obtained for "communicating with staff" and the lowest for "enlisting the support of the non-parent community." A very high level of agreement was obtained for the rankings of the mean importance scores between the two school levels (Spearman .94; Kendall .82). "Encouraging high expectations of students" obtained ranks of 3 (elementary) and 2 (junior high), while "making timely, appropriate, and acceptable decisions" (4, 3) and "obtaining qualified staff" (2, 6) were also prominent. Both groups had very low ranks on several matters such as "enlisting the support of the non-parent community" (29, 29) and "communicating with community groups" (26, 28). Elementary principals rated "enlisting the support of parents" much higher (elementary 7.5 vs. junior high 14.3), but rated "promoting high expectations among staff members" (10.5 vs. 4.5) and "coordinating the development of school goals" (16 vs. 9) much lower.

During the follow-up interviews, the elementary principals exhibited little consensus about the major effectiveness indicators. Most identified several criteria. Some examples were communication, instructional leadership, defending teachers' new initiatives, approval by staff members, and facilitating the goals of the school and staff. The junior high principals showed more consensus with six identifying "leadership qualities." They also mentioned having a clear vision for the school, relationships with teachers, relationships with students, perceptions of students and parents of the principal, confidence of teachers in the principal, and producing changes in the teaching-learning process.

Research Question 4: "What relationship exists between the ranks of the principals' mean scores for effectiveness and importance of indicators for overall principal effectiveness?"

Rank-order correlation analysis of the elementary school principals' ratings revealed moderate agreement between the ranks of the effectiveness and importance means (Spearman .65; Kendall .51). Of the 15 items with the highest perceived effectiveness means, 11 were in the top 15 importance ranks. Prominent on both scales were "making timely, appropriate, and acceptable decisions" (effectiveness rank 2; importance rank 4), "communicating with staff" (3, 1), "communicating with students" (5.3, 9), "enlisting the support of parents" (5.3, 7.5), and "fostering high morale among staff and students" (8, 5). The pattern in lower rankings was similarly consistent. On the other hand, some outstanding disparities occurred. "Exercising exemplary behavior at school" ranked first for effectiveness, but had a much lower importance rank of 14.5; a similar discrepancy was obtained for "allocating resources" (9, 24). The rank-order differences between effectiveness and importance were reversed for "encouraging high expectations of students" (10, 3), "obtaining qualified staff" (17, 2), and "improving the performance of staff" (28, 7.5).

The correlations between ranks for junior high school principals were also moderately high (Spearman .55; Kendall .43). Eleven of the top 15 effectiveness means also appeared in the top 15 importance ranks; most prominent were "communicating with staff" (effectiveness rank 2; importance rank 1), "making timely, appropriate, and acceptable decisions" (4, 3), and "encouraging high expectations of students" (5, 2). As with the elementary principals, the dimension with the highest effectiveness rank, "exercising exemplary behavior at school," was relatively much less important (rank of 17.5). Similar differences emerged for "allocating tasks appropriately among staff" (3, 14.3) and "coping with uncertainty and conflict" (8.5, 17.5). Converse relationships were noted for "obtaining qualified staff" (24, 6) and "improving the performance of staff" (23, 4.5).

. . . the area superintendents collectively were less convinced about the overall effectiveness of their principals than were the principals themselves.

Research Question 5: "What relationships exist between principals' ratings of their overall effectiveness and selected demographic variables?"

The only statistically significant difference ($p < 10$) obtained between the elementary principals' ratings of their overall effectiveness and a demographic variable occurred with number of years of postsecondary education. The mean rating for elementary principals with five years of postsecondary education was 5.35; for principals with either four years or at least six years the means were 5.03 and 5.08. For the other demographic variables, the only substantial difference occurred with gender: the 21 female principals had a mean score of 5.29 for overall effectiveness compared with 5.09 for the 88 male principals.

Inferential statistics were not appropriate for analysis of the junior high school results because the population of junior high principals was used rather than a sample. Substantial differences (≤0.20) in the means of the self-ratings of effectiveness were obtained for the following variables: number of students (450-549; mean of 5.39 vs. the next highest mean of 5.13); number of teachers (25-34; 5.30 vs. 5.10); and gender (female 5.75 vs. male 5.11).

Discussion

The results are discussed below using the content of the Research Questions as a framework. Major attention is given to the comparison of effectiveness on and importance of dimensions, for this was a new and substantial contribution of the study. Two further observations must also be made. First, the generally high ratings for both the effectiveness and importance dimensions can be obscured when attention is focused on the highest means and ranks. Because respondents rarely used the lower points on the 6- and 4-point scales, differences between ranks of individual dimensions may be substantially greater than the differences between their means. Second, the effectiveness ratings by principals in this study were slightly higher than were those by teachers and area superintendents. Conclusions about current levels of effectiveness therefore need to be viewed with due reservation.

Overall Effectiveness of Principals

The moderately high rating of their overall effectiveness by both the elementary and junior high principals (5.13 and 5.14 on the 6-point scale) can be viewed with a certain degree of comfort. The somewhat lower ratings by area superintendents (for both elementary and junior high principals) and by teachers (especially for junior high principals) may require further exploration. The respondents might have been using different frames of references or different approaches to scaling. However, the impression persists that the area superintendents collectively were less convinced about the overall effectiveness of their principals than were the principals themselves. The reasons for such discrepancies in ratings should be explored.

Effectiveness of Principals on Specific Dimensions

The dimensions of principals' work that emerged as the most effective may be seen as encouraging if viewed in the light of recent principal effectiveness research; the patterns of very high ratings in providing an appropriate work environment (see Bolam, 1990), exercising exemplary behavior (see Little, 1982), and making decisions (see Leithwood & Montgomery, 1986) are especially positive. Some of the generally high effectiveness ratings (mainly those in the elementary schools) also correspond to some degree with characteristics arising from prior research specifically on highly effective principals; for example, high ratings on student achievement and, to a lesser extent, on staff morale conform generally with findings by Bossert et al. (1982).

Consistent with other Canadian findings (Leithwood & Montgomery, 1986)—but in contrast with arguments presented by many other writers on effectiveness (e.g., Bolam, 1990; Bossert et al., 1982; Johnson & Snyder, 1985; Murphy et al., 1985; Pratt & Common, 1986)—the emphases upon school goals and instructional leadership were less strongly supported than were other aspects. Principals in Alberta, therefore, may perform most effectively in some leadership dimensions that differ from those commended as central in other contexts. Weaker self-assessments in a range of environment-related dimensions may indicate a perceived neglect of this increasingly significant area of the principal's responsibility.

. . . effectiveness of principals may be just as multifaceted a construct as is effectiveness of schools;

The research findings revealed some substantial differences in principals' perceptions across the two grade levels. Such differences tend to support the opinions expressed earlier in the literature review that the nature and demands of leadership depend upon organizational type and context.

Importance of Effectiveness Indicators

In the responses about importance, a pervasive attitude of "humanitarian" concern for staff and students was apparent; to use the leadership effectiveness terminology, principals in this research appeared to be oriented toward "consideration" rather than "initiating structure." For example, communicating with staff had the highest mean score for importance at both the elementary and junior high school levels; other highly ranked dimensions in this vein were fostering high staff morale and providing feedback to staff. The high ranking of the importance of decision making by principals accords with prior Canadian research (Leithwood & Montgomery, 1986).

Less positive is the pattern of relatively low ratings of environmental variables, not only on principal effectiveness but also on importance. Given that the principal now plays a pivotal role between influential stakeholders within and outside the school (Payne, 1987), there may be a place for intervention at the system level. Institutions providing administrative training also may have a re-educative function to help principals to develop broader perspectives that go beyond the school workplace.

Besides patterns about specific issues, however, the substantial level of support for the importance of most principal effectiveness items and the multiplicity of opinions presented in interviews showed that effectiveness of principals may be just as multifaceted a construct as is effectiveness of schools; it also supports Leithwood and Montgomery's (1986) view of principals as potentially influencing the performance of schools in a wide variety of ways. This conclusion has major implications for practice. Principals need to be extremely cautious about judging their performance on a few select criteria. A wide range of indicators may be needed for them to obtain an adequate picture of their effectiveness. The array of indicators shown in Table 3 may be a useful guide, although some of those with lower importance scores may be deleted.

Effectiveness and Importance

By comparing effectiveness and importance responses, a check can be made on whether principals perform best in specific dimensions that are deemed to be most crucial for effectiveness. A higher degree of correspondence was obtained for elementary schools than for junior high schools. Both decision making and communication with students (elementary schools) and communication with staff (both levels) showed high correspondence between their effectiveness and importance rankings. Principals at both levels also perceived themselves to be highly effective in other matters, such as exercising exemplary behavior, which were more lowly ranked for importance and which currently may receive too much of some principals' limited time and energy.

On the other hand, certain matters of considerable importance may be receiving insufficient attention. According to respondents in this research, principals should be judged very closely on encouraging high expectations of students (elementary schools), obtaining qualified staff, and improving the performance of staff; yet performance in these functions did not rate highly in comparison with other work responsibilities. The differences for the two staffing items, in particular, seem significant: these outcomes reflect concerns by the responding principals at both levels that their role in acquiring qualified staff and improving staff is vital but currently less than optimal, so both aspects may warrant practical intervention. Given the restraint in some school systems on principals' involvement in staff selection for the school, such systems should remove or reduce this obstacle to principal effectiveness, and allow principals to try to obtain the most qualified and competent staff members.

Some implications for principals themselves can also be identified. As noted above, they may need to broaden their self-assessments beyond the indicators customarily presented in the literature. However, principals should also identify the dimensions of their jobs which are most crucial for success in their own schools and pay particular attention to examining and improving their effectiveness in those dimensions.

Effectiveness and Demographic Variables

The relationships between self-ratings of their effectiveness by principals with organizational and personal variables did not lead to any clear, consistent trends except with regard to gender. In view of the small sizes of subsamples in this study, we consider that more research and reflection on these relationships are warranted before confidence in conclusions and recommendations can be established.

Concluding Comment

After presenting a considerable amount of information, returning to the matter of "instructional leadership" seems to be now appropriate. This frequently used term needs to be more carefully analyzed by practitioners than has occurred to date. Many of the 29 dimensions presented in Table 3 can be viewed as falling under the "instructional leadership" function. Nevertheless, perhaps those dimensions that received the highest importance rankings may constitute the "core" of this elusive term—communicating with staff, encouraging high expectations of staff, obtaining qualified staff, and making timely, appropriate, and acceptable decisions. A difficulty with this approach is that it ignores some of the functions that had lower rankings and that many would consider to be integral to "instructional leadership," including fostering the professional growth of staff members and working with teachers to develop or change policies. Resolution of this definitional problem and isolation of valid reasons for the differences obtained between ratings of perceived effectiveness and importance scores are worthy challenges for practitioners as well as researchers.

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Cooperative Learning And School Development

School Development

Our people's hard work is our most important resource.
Japanese Management Philosophy

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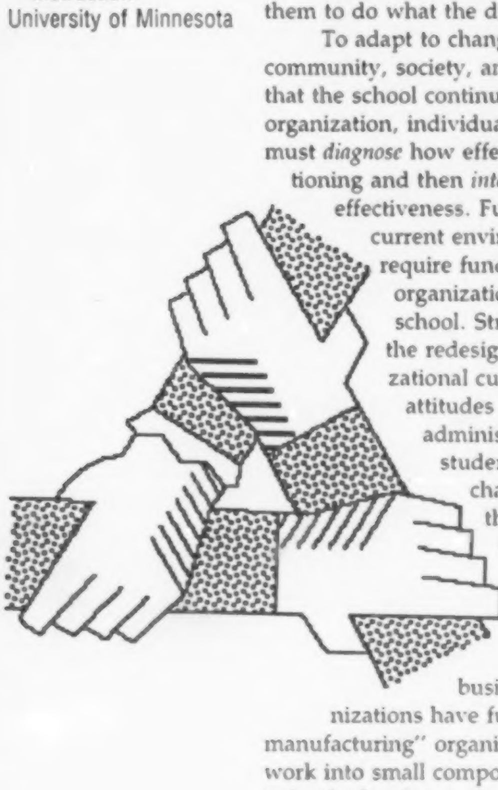
The school is an organization and, similar to all organizations, it has to achieve its goals, maintain effective working relationships among members, and adapt to changes in its community, country, and world. Like all organizations, schools must adapt to changes in their environment or risk fading away like the dinosaurs. The dinosaur presumably made good day-to-day adaptations to its environment. It probably made a pretty good choice of what leaves to eat off what trees and selected the most desirable swamps in which to slosh. At a tactical level of decision, we have no reason to believe that these giant beasts were not reasonably competent. But, when faced with major changes in (a) the earth's climate and (b) competition from other animal life, the dinosaur was unable to make the fundamental changes required to adapt to the new environmental conditions. Schools may now be faced with new environmental conditions that require them to do what the dinosaur could not.

To adapt to changing conditions in the community, society, and world, and to ensure that the school continuously develops as an organization, individuals within the school must *diagnose* how effectively the school is functioning and then *intervene* to improve it effectiveness. Fundamental changes in current environmental conditions require fundamental changes in the organizational structure of the school. Structural change requires the redesign of work, a new organizational culture, and changes in the attitudes and competencies of administrators, teachers, and students. The required changes in schools parallel the changes in organizational structure taking place within business and industry throughout the world.



For decades business and industrial organizations have functioned as "mass manufacturing" organizations that divided work into small component parts performed by individuals who worked separate from and, in many cases, in competition with peers. Personnel were considered to be interchangeable parts in the organizational machine. Such an organizational structure no longer seems effective, and many companies are turning to the high productivity generated by teams.

Most schools have also been structured as mass manufacturing organizations. Teachers work alone, in their own rooms, with their own set of students, and with their own set of curriculum materials. Students may be assigned to any teacher because teachers are interchangeable parts in the education machine and, conversely, teachers may be given any student to teach. Schools need to change from this mass-manufacturing competitive/individualistic organizational structure to a "high performance" cooperative team-based organizational structure. This new organizational structure is generally known as "the cooperative school."

In a cooperative school, students work primarily in cooperative learning groups, teachers and building staff work in cooperative teams, and district administrators work in cooperative teams. The organizational structure of the classroom, school, and district are then congruent. Each level of cooperative teams supports and enhances the other levels.

A cooperative school structure begins in the classroom. Teachers typically cannot promote isolation and competition among students all day and also be collaborative with colleagues. Behaviors promoted in their instructional situations tend to dominate relationships among staff members. Teachers who spend up to six hours a day telling students, "Do not copy," "I want to see what you can do, not your neighbor," "Let's see who is best," and "Who is the winner" will in turn tend to approach their colleagues suggesting attitudes of "Don't copy from me" and "Who is the winner in implementing this new teaching strategy?"

The cooperative context that is necessary for teachers to learn from their colleagues begins in the classroom. Teachers may be expected to:

1. Structure the majority of learning situations cooperatively (See Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1990). Cooperative learning requires that the teacher carefully creates positive interdependence, face-to-face promotive interaction, individual accountability, social skills, and group processing.
2. Teach students the leadership, decision-making, communication, trust-building, and conflict-resolution skills they need to function effectively within cooperative learning groups (See Johnson, 1990, 1991; Johnson & Johnson, 1991).

EDITOR'S NOTE: This brief article by David and Roger Johnson, nationally recognized researchers in cooperative learning, was excerpted from a larger article which will appear in the next issue of the *Journal*. That article will discuss the possibility of the application of cooperative learning strategies to the management of schools. The next issue of the *Journal* will focus on the article by the Johnsons and will contain related articles on cooperative learning techniques and strategies from the school executive's perspective. The article by the Johnsons found here is intended to either introduce school executives to the concept of cooperative learning or to refresh recollections in anticipation of the next issue of the *Journal*.

The use of cooperative learning will increase student achievement, build better working relationships among students and between the teacher and the students, and increase the school's ability to respond flexibly to new demands from and changing conditions within the community. In addition, by structuring cooperative learning and teaching students how to work effectively within cooperative teams, teachers themselves learn the skills and attitudes required to work cooperatively with their colleagues.

. . . schools are rediscovering the power of having students work together, cooperatively, to learn.

The heart of a cooperative school is cooperative learning. In the next section cooperative learning will be defined, the essential elements that make cooperative learning effective will be discussed, and the research support for its use and for the cooperative school will be defined.

What Is Cooperative Learning?

> Everyone has to work together; if we can't get everybody working toward common goals, nothing is going to happen.
>
> Harold K. Sperlich, President,
> Chrysler Corporation

"I want to be able to hear a pin drop in this room." "Don't copy." "I want to see what you can do, not your neighbor." "Save the talking for the hallway." These are familiar teacher statements exhorting students to work by themselves without interacting with their classmates. In many classrooms, however, these statements are becoming passe. Throughout North America, Europe, the South Pacific, and many other parts of the world, schools are rediscovering the power of having students work together, cooperatively, to learn.

"What is cooperative learning?" It is more than being "put into a group to learn." Cooperation is working together to accomplish shared goals and *cooperative learning* is the instructional use of small groups so that students work together to maximize their own and each other's learning (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1990). After receiving instruction from the teacher, class members are divided into groups of from two to five members. Students then work through the assignment until all group members have successfully understood and completed it. In other words, within cooperative learning groups, students are given two responsibilities: To learn the assigned material *and* make sure that all other members of their group do likewise. Thus, a student seeks an outcome that is beneficial to him- or herself *and* beneficial to all other group members. In cooperative learning situations, students perceive that they can reach their learning goals only if the other students in the learning group also do so. Students realize they have a stake in each other's success. Students discuss the material to be learned with one another, help and assist each other to understand it, and encourage each other to work hard. Students become mutually responsible for each other's learning.

Cooperative efforts result in individuals striving for *mutual benefit* so that all group members benefit from one's efforts (Your success benefits me and my success benefits you), accepting that all group members share a *common fate* (We all sink or swim together here), recognizing that one's performance is *mutually caused* by oneself and one's colleagues (I can not do it without you), and feeling proud and *jointly celebrating* when a group member is recognized for achievement (You got an A! That is terrific!).

Cooperative learning groups may be used to teach specific content *(formal cooperative learning groups)*, to ensure active cognitive processing of information during a lecture *(informal cooperative learning groups)*, and to provide long-term support and assistance for academic progress *(cooperative base groups)* (Johnson & Johnson, 1989; Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1990). Any assignment in any curriculum for any student of any age can be done cooperatively. In *formal cooperative learning groups* the teacher structures the learning groups (deciding on group size and how to assign students to groups); teaches the academic concepts, principles, and strategies that the students are to master and apply; assigns a task to be completed cooperatively; monitors the functioning of the learning groups, and intervenes to (a) teach collaborative skills and (b) provide assistance in academic learning when it is needed. The teacher then evaluates student learning and guides the processing by learning groups of their effectiveness.

When direct teaching procedures (such as a lecture or a movie) are being used, *informal cooperative learning groups* can be used to focus student attention on the material to be learned, set a mood conducive to learning, help set expectations as to what will be covered in a class session, ensure that students cognitively process the material being taught, and provide closure to an instructional session. Students can summarize in three-to-five minute discussions what they know about a topic before and after a lecture. Short five-minute discussions in cooperative pairs can be interspersed throughout a lecture. In this way the main problem of lectures can be countered: "The information passes from the notes of the professor to the notes of the student without passing through the mind of either one."

Finally, *cooperative base groups* can be used to provide each student the support, encouragement, and assistance needed to make academic progress. These groups meet daily (or at least twice a week). They are permanent (lasting from one to several years) and provide the long-term, caring peer relationships necessary to influence members consistently to work hard in school. The use of base groups tends to improve attendance, personalize the work required and the school experience, and improve the quality and quantity of learning. When used in combination, cooperative formal, informal, and base groups provide an overall structure to classroom life.

Cooperative learning may be contrasted with competitive and individualistic learning. In the *competitive* classroom, students work against each other to achieve a goal that only one or a few students can attain. Students are graded on a curve, which requires them to work faster and more accurately than their peers. Thus, students seek an outcome that is personally beneficial but detrimental to all other students in the class. In the *individualistic* classroom students work by themselves to accomplish learning goals unrelated to those of the other students. Individual goals are assigned, students' efforts are evaluated on a fixed set of standards, and students are rewarded accordingly. Thus, the student seeks an outcome that is personally beneficial and ignores as irrelevant the goal achievement of other students.

Basic Elements Of Cooperative Learning

Together we stand, divided we fall.
Watchword Of The American Revolution

Many teachers believe that they are implementing cooperative learning when in fact they are missing its essence. Putting students into groups to learn is not the same thing as structuring cooperation among students. Cooperation is *not:*

1. having students sit side by side at the same table and talk with each other as they do their individual assignments
2. having students do a task individually with instructions that the ones who finish first are to help the slower students
3. assigning a report to a group in which one student does all the work and the others put their names on it

Cooperation is much more than being physically near other students, discussing material with other students, helping other students, or sharing materials with other students, although each of these is important in cooperative learning.

In order for a lesson to be cooperative, five basic elements are essential and need to be included (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1990). In a math class, for example, a teacher assigns her students a set of math story problems to solve. Students are placed in groups of three. The *instructional task* is for students to solve each story problem correctly and understand the correct strategy for doing so. The teacher must now implement five basic elements. The first element of a cooperative lesson is *positive interdependence*. Students must believe that they are linked with others in a way that one cannot succeed unless the other members of the group succeed (and vice versa). In other words, students must perceive that they "sink or swim together." Within the math story problems lesson, positive interdependence is structured by group members (1) agreeing on the answer and the strategies for solving each problem (goal interdependence) and (2) fulfilling assigned role responsibilities (role interdependence). Each group is given a set of story problems (one copy for each student) and a set of three "role" cards. Each group member is assigned one of the roles. The *reader* reads the problems aloud to the group. The *checker* makes sure that all members can explain how to solve each problem correctly. The *encourager* in a friendly way encourages all members of the group to participate in the discussion, sharing their ideas and feelings. All students work the problems on scratch paper and share their insights with each other. Other ways of structuring positive interdependence includes having common rewards, being dependent on each other's resources, structuring a division of labor, and developing a strong group identity. All cooperative learning, however, starts with a mutually shared group goal.

Teachers and administrators both need a conceptual understanding of cooperative efforts.

The second element of a cooperative lesson is *face-to-face promotive interaction* among students. This exists when students orally explain to each other how to solve problems, discuss with each other the nature of the concepts and strategies being learned, teach one's knowledge to classmates, and explain to each other the connections between present and past learning. This face-to-face interaction is *promotive* in the sense that students help, assist, encourage, and support each other's efforts to learn. In the math lesson, the teacher must provide the time, knee-to-knee seating arrangement, and teacher encouragement for students to exchange ideas and help each other learn.

The third element is *individual accountability*. The teacher needs to ensure that the performance of each individual student is assessed and the results given back to the group and the individual. It is important that the group knows who needs more assistance in completing the assignment, and it is important that group members know they cannot "hitchhike" on the work of others. Common ways to structure individual accountability include giving an individual test to each student and randomly selecting one student's work to represent the entire group. In the math lesson, since group members certify that all members (1) have the correct answer written on their answer sheets and (2) can correctly explain how to solve each problem, individual accountability could be structured by having the teacher pick one answer sheet at random to score for the group and/or randomly asking one group member to explain how to solve one of the problems.

The fourth element is *social skills*. Groups cannot function effectively if students do not have and use the needed leadership, decision-making, trust-building, communication, and conflict-management skills. These skills have to be taught just as purposefully and precisely as academic skills. Many students have never worked cooperatively in learning situations and, therefore, lack the needed social skills for doing so. Today, the math teacher is emphasizing the skill of "checking to make sure everyone understands." The teacher defines the skill as the phrases to be used and the accompanying nonverbal behaviors. When the teacher sees students engaging in the skill, she verbally praises the group and/or records the instance on an observation sheet. Procedures and strategies for teaching students social skills may be found in Johnson (1990, 1991), Johnson and Johnson (1991), and Johnson, Johnson, and Holubec (1990).

Finally, the teacher must ensure that *groups process* how well they are achieving their goals and maintaining effective working relationships among members. At the end of the math period the groups *process* their functioning by answering two questions: (1) What is something each member did that was helpful for the group and (2) What is something each member could do to make the group even better tomorrow? Such processing enables learning groups to focus on group maintenance, facilitates the learning of collaborative skills, ensures that members receive feedback on their participation, and reminds students to practice collaborative skills consistently. Some of the keys to successful processing are allowing sufficient time for it to take place, making it specific rather than vague, varying the format, maintaining student involvement in processing, reminding students to use their collaborative skills while they process, and ensuring that clear expectations of the purpose of processing have been communicated. Often, each group is required to turn in a summary of their processing that is signed by all group members.

Teachers and administrators both need a conceptual understanding of cooperative efforts. Teacher and administrator commitment and ability to implement cooperative learning in the classroom and staff teams within the school require conceptual understanding of the essential elements of well-structured cooperative efforts.

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David W. Johnson is a Professor of Educational Psychology with an emphasis in Social Psychology at the University of Minnesota. He has a masters and a doctoral degree from Columbia University. He is the author of 15 books, including an educational psychology textbook. He has published over 200 research articles in leading psychological journals. In 1972 he received a national award for outstanding research from the American Personnel and Guidance Association and in 1981 he received a national award for outstanding research on intergroup relationships from Division 9 of the American Psychological Association. He is currently listed in Marquis' *Who's Who in the World.* For the past 20 years he has served as an organizational consultant to schools and businesses in such areas as management training, team building, ethnic relations, conflict resolution, interpersonal and group skills training, drug abuse prevention, and the evaluating of affective outcomes of school systems. He is an authority on experiential learning. He is a practicing psychotherapist. He is a recent past editor of the *American Educational Research Journal.*

Roger T. Johnson is a Professor of Curriculum and Instruction with an emphasis in Science Education at the University of Minnesota. He has an M.A. from Ball State University and an Ed.D. from the University of California in Berkeley. His public school teaching experience includes teaching in kindergarten through eighth grade in self-contained classrooms, open schools, non-graded situations, cottage schools, and departmentalized (science) schools. In teaching in the Jefferson County Schools in Colorado he received an award for outstanding teaching. He has taught in the Harvard-Newton Inter Program as a Master Teacher and was curriculum developer with the Elementary Science Study in the Educational Development Center. For three summers he has taught classes in the British Primary Schools at the University of Sussex near Brighton, England. He is an authority on inquiry teaching. He has served on many major task forces of the State of Minnesota Governor's Environmental Education Council. He is the author of numerous articles and coauthor of *Learning Together and Alone.*

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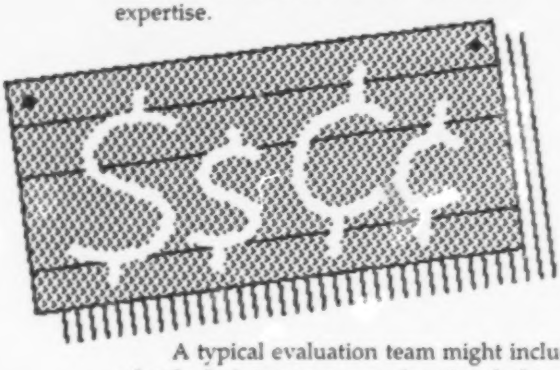
School Building Evaluations and Capacities

Darrell Spencer, Ed.D.
Educational Planner
Darrell Spencer and
Associates

School facility evaluations are essential to school administrators and board members in communicating school facility needs to the public. An evaluation system should clearly delineate between buildings that are suitable for long-range use and those that should be replaced or abandoned. For those buildings judged suitable for long-range use, the evaluation should identify deficiencies to be corrected through major or incremental renovations.

Since the mid 1970s, the North Carolina Department of Education has used a five-category rating system that is based on building descriptions. Written in non-technical language, the system is forthright, simple, and generally accepted by the public. Above all, it has become an effective communications tool as citizens have come to refer to the condition of their school buildings by established categories. This evaluation system will be reviewed in this article. A proper school building evaluation will require both educational and technical expertise.



A typical evaluation team might include school administrators, an educational planner, a school architect, and an engineer. The team should visit each school and prepare a report, generally including the following:

- Adequacy of Site
  - location
  - size
  - development
  - handicapped accessibility
  - traffic control and parking
  - drainage
- Adequacy of Design
  - basic design
  - educational adequacy
  - flexibility
  - safety/building code compliance
  - student traffic flow
  - handicapped accessibility
  - specialized facilities
  - optimal student capacity
  - temporary classrooms
  - substandard classrooms
- Construction
  - structural fault, leaks, cracks
  - roof condition and life expectancy
  - adequacy of service areas—kitchen, restrooms, etc.
  - surface finishes and general condition
  - presence/condition of asbestos
  - presence of radon or lead in drinking water
- Mechanical, Electrical, and Emergency Systems
  - electrical system
  - heating, air conditioning, and ventilating systems
  - water and sewage systems
  - emergency systems
  - building code compliance

If buildings have several construction dates and/or building types, each area should be evaluated. After the on-site visit, the team should evaluate each building on the campus, using the following criteria:

Category I - Excellent - Long-range
(thirty years; longer with proper maintenance)

Buildings that are of quality construction, of good design to accommodate a modern educational program, and flexible enough to be adapted to changing educational programs. Excellent physical condition. Modern mechanical systems with air conditioning (if needed). Meets all building codes, including handicapped use requirements. Renovation or alterations feasible, if needed.

Category II - Very Good - Long-range
(fifteen years; longer with proper maintenance)

Sound construction, above average condition, adequate in design for a modern educational program, and affords some flexibility to accommodate changing programs. Meets most building code requirements, but may have handicapped code deficiencies. Mechanical systems generally adequate. Renovation feasible.

Category III - Good - Medium to Long-range
(ten years; longer with proper maintenance)

Buildings of average construction that generally meet minimum building code requirements. Design is generally adequate, but may have some features that are inflexible and limiting to educational programs. Average physical condition. May not provide handicapped accessibility. Mechanical systems are average. Renovation usually feasible.

Category IV - Fair - Short-range
(approximately five years; plan to replace)

Buildings of marginal adequacy in construction and condition. Design is typically inadequate for a modern instructional program and too inflexible to be adapted. May not meet building code requirements and may not provide accessibility to the handicapped. Mechanical systems may be obsolete and in poor condition. Major renovations probably not economically feasible. Typically, should only be maintained for health and safety until replaced, if needed.

Category V - Poor - Phase Out
(approximately three years; replace or abandon)

Buildings which are educationally inadequate in construction, design, and flexibility. May not meet building code requirements for existing facilities, including handicapped accessibility. Mechanical systems may be obsolete or inadequate. Renovation or modification is not economically feasible or recommended. Phase out as soon as possible.

. . . effectively communicate to the public information regarding the buildings suitable for long-range use and those that should be replaced or abandoned.

The evaluation system outlined above may be used to effectively communicate to the public information regarding the buildings suitable for long-range use and those that should be replaced or abandoned. Buildings classified as I or II are clearly for long-range use. Buildings in Category V are clearly candidates for replacement or abandonment. While some buildings in Category III may be questionable, most should be renovated. Likewise, a building in Category IV should, most likely, be replaced.

Boards of education should also establish student enrollment capacities for their schools. Since capacity figures are based on educational programs, these factors should be reviewed each fall and, if necessary, revised. Establishing school enrollment capacities is especially important for districts with several schools that serve the same grade levels.

Elementary School Capacities

In the 1950s, the capacity of an elementary school could be determined by multiplying the number of classrooms by a factor such as 30 (the presumed capacity of each room). Today, given the range of programs such as art and music as well as programs for exceptional children, the formula is not as simple. The following procedures will facilitate the determination of an elementary school's capacity.

First, identify the teaching stations used for "pull-out" programs. Elementary children are "pulled out" of regular classrooms for classes such as art, music, and physical education, and for programs for exceptional children. Classrooms used for these programs should not be counted unless they are self-contained. Count only those classrooms in which children are assigned to a teacher for most of the day. Do not count portable classrooms.

Multiply the remaining classrooms in each building by an appropriate factor, such as 20, 22, or 25. The result will indicate the capacity for the building. Summing the separate building capacities will provide the overall school capacity for a given school year, based on the program for that year.

High School Capacities

High schools generally do not have "pull-out" programs; consequently, all teaching stations may be counted. Count all regular classrooms, as well as such rooms as laboratories, shops, art rooms, and music rooms. Do not count the library or cafeteria. Do not count portable classrooms. In a high school with more than 500 students, count the gymnasium as two teaching stations. Count the auditorium if it is used as a teaching station.

Because of scheduling, high schools have many vacant and underutilized classrooms during the school day. For this reason, the factor which is to be multiplied by the number of teaching stations must be lower than the allowable maximum class size. For example, a multiplier of 16, 18, or 20 would be appropriate.

Middle School/Junior High School Capacities

Middle and junior high school capacities should be calculated in a manner similar to either elementary or high schools, depending on the program and schedule. If the high school methodology is used, multipliers of 18, 20, or 22 may generally be used as there are fewer choices and the facility can be scheduled more tightly.

For all schools, the capacities should be established for buildings and aggregated for the total school capacity. The reason for this will soon be apparent.

To this point, two concepts have been developed—building evaluations and building capacities. These two concepts should be merged in establishing a long-range plan.

When you have completed the above tasks, you can extrapolate the following:

- Total capacity (Categories I-V)
- Long-range capacity (Categories I-III)

This point can be illustrated with the following example:

DEEP CREEK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

	Teaching Stations*	Evaluation
1923 Main Building	10	V
1980 Addition	10	I
Total	20	

*not including rooms used for art, music, physical education, and programs for exceptional children.

In the example above, using a multiplier of 22, this school would have a present capacity for 440 students and a long-range capacity for 220 students. In developing a long-range facility plan, the long-range capacity should be compared to the five or ten-year, projected student membership; the difference is the facility deficit.

In summary, boards of education should evaluate their school facilities and establish student enrollment capacities. These matters should be discussed at the beginning of each school year. If this information is understood and accepted by the citizens, there will be more support for the board's long-range plan and efforts to improve educational facilities.

For additional information about this article, you may contact the author at Darrell Spencer and Associates, Educational Planners, 3122 Tanager Street, Raleigh, NC 27606.

Darrell Spencer, an educational planner, has prepared master plans for more than 40 school districts and supervised the preparation of approximately 100 additional master plans. He has served as president of one regional and two national school facility planning organizations and has written articles and spoken on school district organization, master planning, educational specification, population projections, facility evaluations, school capacities, school finance, and pupil assignment plans.

Review of *Teachers for Our Nation's Schools*

John Goodlad
Jossey-Bass Publishers, 427 pp. $21.95.

Kerry McNeil Evans
Language Arts Teacher
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When John Goodlad discusses teaching—the "not quite profession"—he sounds a bit like Barbra Streisand belting out choruses of "Second Hand Rose." And his description of the state of teacher education can only add to the "prestige deprivation" he and the researchers at the Center for Educational Renewal, University of Washington, document in *Teachers for Our Nation's Schools*. Yet, his plea for simultaneous renewal of schools, teachers, and programs that educate teachers is provoking thoughtful discussions about realistic possibilities for change.

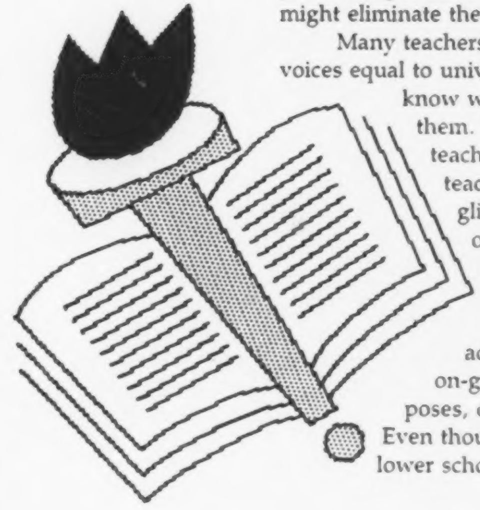
Of the 1,300 or so colleges and universities now preparing teachers, Goodlad and his associates studied 29 schools ranging in size from private liberal arts colleges to major research universities. Nowhere did he find the integrated program connecting public schools and teacher-training programs that he envisions.

Perhaps the stickiest thorn in reforming any aspect of education in the United States is the lack of a clear purpose for schools in a democracy. Goodlad says repeatedly that this question must be addressed while the mission for schools of education is also being redefined. How do we prepare teachers for schools in a nation with an increasing array of both educational and social problems? Arguing that schools can't solve all of society's problems, he does identify four dimensions of teaching: intellectual and moral leadership, belief in the ability of all to learn, a depth of pedagogical knowledge for building effective student-teacher connections, and stewardship of not merely classrooms but of schools and schooling. In return, he says teachers should earn respect, a fair share of the gross national product, and the authority that comes with recognition as a professional. And teacher education programs need to take their job seriously, do it right, or get out of the business. Goodlad enumerates 19 postulates that become the bare bones of what he means by "do it right."

Goodlad expends three-quarters of his book building his case for the changes he proposes near its conclusion. It's tempting to go straight there, where he repeats the postulates and considers what it would take to close the gaps between what he found and what he envisions. A wide range of issues surface in these postulates, some directed at university regents and some at state legislators. Two issues in particular are fascinating to public school teachers: cohort groups and Schools of Pedagogy.

Grouping education majors into cohort groups as early as possible for seminars about the purposes of general education courses is an excellent way to build collaborative strategies and cooperative experiences to break the isolation that individual classroom teachers now experience. Continuing those support groups throughout student teaching and into the first year of teaching might eliminate the war stories we all tell about "my first year."

Many teachers would welcome being a part of Goodlad's proposed School of Pedagogy, their voices equal to university teachers and researchers. Like the chicken and the egg, it's hard to know which comes first—change in classroom teachers or the programs that produce them. If, as Goodlad's findings indicated, the collaborating teacher during student teaching is a more important influence than any university professor or student teaching supervisor, perhaps that's a good place to start. What administrative juggling would it take to re-write job descriptions for teachers working in a context of shared responsibility between public schools and university centers of pedagogy? There are teachers in the field eager to influence the profession by participating in teacher education without giving up their public school classrooms. They would do so, however, but as "part of" their workload, not "in addition to" their assignments. These teachers would welcome being part of an on-going dialogue about education, opening their classrooms for research purposes, developing case studies, and modeling the stance of reflective practitioner. Even though higher education has never been disposed to working collaboratively with lower schools, Goodlad makes a strong case that we'd all benefit from that collaboration.



Chapter Nine: "Renewal at Northern State" is a bonus—a fable, he calls it—playing out one possible scenario of change at a regional public university. Although this chapter reads like fiction with a full cast of characters you know and love (or hate), it is based on real-life experiences on campuses around the country. Like all fables, this one teaches by example, giving readers a chance to learn from the experience of others. It's fun to read and it reads quickly, yet it provides samples of partnership agreements, a mission statement for the Center of Pedagogy, and an agenda for task force committees. The 10 years he recommends for instituting major changes are none too many when viewed in the context of this fable.

Reading this book makes change friendlier. Peter Junger, the school superintendent who proposes the school-university partnership in this fable, says, "We've been given permission to deviate from the norm—even to create new norms." Perhaps that's what we all need. That and permission not to get it quite right the first time to explore new partnerships for simultaneous renewal of schools, teachers, and programs that educate teachers.

Whether you agree or disagree with Goodlad's proposals, the book, especially Chapters 8 and 9, is a good "read." Whole chunks of his proposals, as well as scores of one-liners, will fuel discussions among educators for a good long while. Discussion is not enough, however, and he leaves us with a nearly Biblical injunction that by the end of this century, "The world will be very different, and the circumstances of our lives will be largely a product of our commissions and omissions during the remaining days of the intervening years." The work calls. Who will answer?

Review of *Teachers for Our Nation's Schools*

John Goodlad
Jossey-Bass Publishers, 427 pp. $21.95.

Vicki Kubler LaBoskey
Assistant Professor of Education and Director of the Multiple Subjects Credential Program
Mills College
Oakland, California

Teachers for Our Nation's Schools, by John I. Goodlad provides an in-depth description of the state of teacher education in this country today. Though the book can be perceived as just another critique of educators and educational institutions, it is a condemnation with some significant differences. First, the intent is not to lay blame; Goodlad purposefully rejects "the convenient 'villain' theory" and, instead, paints a relatively objective picture based upon a conscientious investigation of representative programs. Second, the analysis is not artificially narrow; not only does the study include a variety of institutional types, it also touches upon most relevant factors ranging from field experiences to faculty reward systems to state licensing procedures to social inequities. Third, the author does not just gripe about the situation; he proposes a "solution"—an alternative vision accompanied by concrete suggestions.

Goodlad has provided us with the basic information necessary for a thoughtful reconsideration of teacher education; the book has many strengths. First, because the investigation is so comprehensive, the complexity of the enterprise is well-portrayed; the simplistic inadequacy of most recent proposals for rectifying our educational problems is made obvious. Only massive system-wide restructuring will do, and we are all responsible, though for different aspects. And, also to Goodlad's credit, he argues that educational decision-making should be handled by informed educators rather than governors or other politicians.

Another notable strength is the list of 19 postulates representing the necessary conditions for "teacher education programs driven by reasonable expectations." As Goodlad notes, beneficial reform efforts must be (but seldom are) guided by carefully conceived goals. Though equally thoughtful changes or additions to the postulates are possible and even encouraged, the overall list seems to be comprehensive and well-supported by research, practice, and moral imperative. It can provide educators with an outstanding initial framework.

Although I found much to applaud in Goodlad's mission statement, I had some trouble with certain suggestions for accomplishment. First, he rightly acknowledges that most of his recommendations are dependent upon teacher educators being given "the full authority they need to create exemplary teacher education programs" by state and university authorities (conditions encompassed in postulates 1-4, 18, and 19). However, he says very little about how to achieve these extraordinarily difficult, yet pivotal, tasks. Second, though he claims to be non-prescriptive, some suggestions do seem quite definitive. As an example, he claims that the analysis of case studies by credential candidates will help them to deal with the complexities of conducting schools. Having a personal interest in case methods, I would tend to agree. However, I also know that though we have made progress in defining and constructing potential means (Shulman, in press), very little research has been done to document results. Third, his fundamental recommendation for achieving a substantive reformation of teacher education is through university-school partnerships. Though I agree that both institutions must be renewed and that the renewal processes must proceed simultaneously and in conversation, I am not yet convinced that formal, system-wide collaboration is either necessary or even advantageous. One of Goodlad's own works testifies to the extraordinary difficulties encountered (Sirotnik & Goodlad, 1988). In contrast, the literature contains numerous examples of public schools engaged in successful renewal efforts that do not include demonstration schools (Bliss, Firestone, & Richards, 1991; Elam, 1989; Sirotnik & Clark, 1988; Sleeter, 1991). Likewise, many of Goodlad's curricular goals for teacher education programs seem to be achievable without formal partnering (Clift, Houston, & Pugach, 1990; Fosnot, 1989; Grossman, 1990; LaBoskey, 1991).

The book's key message for public school teachers and administrators is renewal. Schools must become "renewing schools," and the process needs to include interaction with teacher education programs also engaged in a renewal effort. The first step in such a process is the sharing of information—the particulars of local programs need to be understood. The descriptions provided by Goodlad are summaries that may or may not be representative of a specific institution or situation. Perhaps decisions will be made to engage in massive restructuring along the lines imagined in Goodlad's fable. If not, less comprehensive means for renewal are also suggested: (1) develop thoughtful ways to engage student teachers in the school's renewal process; (2) encourage student teachers to try out new techniques/ideas they are learning in their programs; (3) build into the system means for all teachers in the school to interact and experiment on a regular basis; and (4) work together with local teacher educators to convince state authorities to discontinue prescriptions for teacher education curriculum and "backdoor" routes to teacher licensing and to convince higher education administrators to grant teacher education programs appropriate support, autonomy, and reward.

The changes called for in *Teachers for Our Nation's Schools* will require a good deal of time, money, dedicated effort, and public trust in the expertise of informed educators—all of which seem to be in very short supply these days. However, I, like Goodlad, believe that the nation will eventually awaken to the necessity and the possibility. I believe this book makes a significant contribution to the acceleration of the process, and, as such, ought to be required reading for all Americans who are concerned about our schools.

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Journal of Research for School Executives

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The Editorial Board of the *Journal* invites the submission of manuscripts for publication consideration. The *Journal* is refereed and is published by the Institute for School Executives of the College of Education, The University of Iowa. The *Journal's* intended audience includes education executives, school staff members, board members, and other interested persons.

The primary purpose of the publication is to disseminate to educational executives research, scholarship, informed opinion, and their practical applications. Educational executives will be encouraged to share the publication with colleagues, staff members, board members, and other interested persons. Published articles will provide the name and address of a contact person who can provide additional information.

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SPECIAL ISSUE ON COOPERATIVE LEARNING FOR THE SCHOOL EXECUTIVE

The Winter issue of the *Journal* will be devoted to cooperative learning from the perspective of the school executive. Dr. Richard Shepardson, Professor of Curriculum and Instruction at The University of Iowa will be the guest editor. Dr. Shepardson plans to include research articles by David and Roger Johnson of the University of Minnesota discussing the possibility of running a "cooperative school" with management using cooperative learning strategies; Michele Britton Bass, on research studies that deal with the complexities of using cooperative learning groups involving students with disabilities; Gene Hall, Dean of Education at the University of Northern Colorado, on bringing about change and meeting concern levels of teachers; Carol Rolheiser-Bennett of the University of Toronto, on problems associated with bringing about too much change and innovation; and Patricia Scanlen, University of Wisconsin at La Crosse, about research involving a teacher's skillful implementation of cooperative learning students. Supporting and experiential articles by practicing educators will also be included.

JOURNAL OF RESEARCH FOR

WINTER 1991-92 VOLUME 1

SCHOOL EXECUTIVES

Cooperative Learning: Cooperative Schools • Mainstreamed Learners • Administrative Support • Case Study • Coaching • Three Exemplary Lessons

Journal of Research for School Executives

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Cooperative Learning and School Development

Cooperative Staff Teams

Take care of each other. Share your energies with the group. No one must feel alone, cut off, for that is when you do not make it.
Willi Unsoeld, Mountain Climber

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The cooperative school begins in the classroom. *What is good for students, however, is even better for faculty.* In a cooperative school, three types of cooperative groups need to be employed (Johnson & Johnson, 1989b):

1. *Collegial support groups* to increase teachers' instructional expertise and success. Their purpose is to improve members' professional competence and ensure members' professional growth. Participation in the collegial support groups is aimed at increasing teachers' belief that they are engaged in a joint venture ("We are doing it!"), public commitment to peers to increase their instructional expertise ("I will try it!"), peer accountability ("They are counting on me!"), sense of social support ("They will help and assist me!"), sense of safety ("The risk is challenging but not excessive!"), and self-efficacy ("If I exert the effort, I will be successful!").
2. *Task force groups* plan and implement solutions to schoolwide issues and problems such as curriculum adoptions and lunchroom behavior. These small problem-solving groups diagnose a problem, gather data about the causes and extent of the problem, consider a variety of alternative solutions, make conclusions, and present a recommendation to the faculty as a whole.
3. *Ad hoc decision-making groups* used during faculty meetings to involve all staff members in important school decisions. These groups are part of a small-group/large-group procedure in which staff members listen to a recommendation, are assigned to small groups (usually three members), meet in the small groups and consider the recommendation, discuss the positive and negative aspects of the recommendation, report to the entire faculty their support or questions about the recommendation, and then as a staff decide on an appropriate course of action. Such a procedure maximizes the participation and involvement of all staff members in the school's decision making.

What is good for teachers, is even better for administrators. *District administrators* are also structured into collegial support groups, task forces, and ad hoc decision-making groups at the district level.

What Do We Know About Cooperative Efforts?

Working together to get the job done can have profound effects in the classroom and in the school. The amount of research demonstrating the effectiveness of cooperative efforts is staggering. The first research study was conducted in 1897; during the past 90 years over 550 studies have been conducted by a wide variety of researchers in a wide variety of settings (Johnson & Johnson, 1989a). Given the amount of research evidence available, it is surprising and even alarming that classroom practice is so oriented toward individualistic and competitive learning and that schools are so committed to a mass-manufacturing organizational structure. It is time to reduce the discrepancy between what research indicates is effective and what students, teachers, and administrators actually do.

From the over 600 studies that have been conducted, a number of conclusions may be made (Johnson & Johnson, 1989a).

Working together to achieve a common goal produces higher achievement and greater productivity than does working alone. Confirmed overwhelmingly by research, this proposition stands as one of the strongest principles of social and organizational psychology. Teachers and administrators using cooperative procedures are on very safe grounds empirically. The more conceptual the task, the more problem solving required; the more desirable higher-level reasoning and critical thinking, the more creativity required; and the greater the application required of what is being learned to the real world, the greater the superiority of cooperative over competitive and individualistic efforts. One of the things this means is that individuals who have been educated within cooperative learning groups are more likely as adults to invent new products, discover ways to solve problems, create new theoretical insights, and work productively with others.

Individuals care more about each other and are more committed to each other's success and well-being when they work together to get the job done than when they compete to see who is best or work independently from each other. This is true when individuals are homogeneous, and it is also true when individuals differ in intellectual ability, handicapping conditions, ethnic membership, social class, and gender. When individuals are heterogeneous, cooperating on a task results in more realistic and positive views of each other. As relationships become more positive, absenteeism and turnover of membership decrease, member commitment to organizational goals increases, feelings of personal responsibility to the organization increase, willingness to take on difficult tasks increases, motivation and persistence in working toward goal achievement increase, satisfaction and morale increase, willingness to endure pain and frustration on behalf of the organization increases, willingness to defend the organization against external criticism or attack increases, willingness to listen to and be influenced by colleagues increases, commitment to each other's professional growth and success increases, and productivity increases.

Table 1.
Social Interdependence: Weighted Findings

	Mean	S.D.	N
Achievement			
Cooperative vs. Competitive	0.67	0.93	129
Cooperative vs. Individualistic	0.64	0.79	184
Competitive vs. Individualistic	0.30	0.77	38
Interpersonal Attraction			
Cooperative vs. Competitive	0.67	0.49	93
Cooperative vs. Individualistic	0.60	0.58	60
Competitive vs. Individualistic	0.08	0.70	15
Social Support			
Cooperative vs. Competitive	0.62	0.44	84
Cooperative vs. Individualistic	0.70	0.45	72
Competitive vs. Individualistic	-0.13	0.36	19
Self-Esteem			
Cooperative vs. Competitive	0.58	0.56	56
Cooperative vs. Individualistic	0.44	0.40	38
Competitive vs. Individualistic	-0.23	0.42	19

Working cooperatively with peers, and valuing cooperation, results in higher self-esteem and greater psychological health than does competing with peers or working independently. Personal ego-strength, self-confidence, independence, and autonomy are all promoted by being involved in cooperative efforts with caring people, who are committed to each other's success and well-being, and who respect each other as unique individuals. When individuals work together to complete assignments, they interact (mastering social skills and competencies), they promote each other's success (gaining self-worth), and they form personal as well as professional relationships (creating the basis for healthy social development). Individuals' psychological adjustment and health tend to increase when schools are dominated by cooperative efforts. The more that individuals work cooperatively with others, the more they see themselves as worthwhile and as having value, the greater their productivity, the greater their acceptance and support of others, and the more autonomous and independent they tend to be. Cooperative experiences are not a luxury. They are an absolute necessity for the healthy development of individuals who can function independently.

Cooperative teaming is one of the few practices that is guided by a well-formulated and empirically validated theory (see Johnson & Johnson, 1989b).

High-Performance, Team-Based Organizational Structure

It is only when we develop others that we permanently succeed.
Harvey S. Firestone, Firestone Tires

When most teachers and administrators are committed to cooperative learning, the staff can move toward an overall team-based school structure (see Figure 1). Just as the heart of the classroom is cooperative learning, the heart of the school is the collegial support group. Collegial support groups meet once a week for about 60 minutes. The principal is a member of each collegial support group, moving from one meeting to another as time allows. The collegial support groups focus on improving instruction in general and on increasing members' expertise in using cooperative learning in specific. A school governing council consists of the principal and one member of each collegial support group. Information is shared in this meeting to be passed on to each collegial support group. Most decisions are made in this group. In addition, there are school task forces, each of which focuses on a different issue and is made up of one member of each collegial support group. The task forces meet periodically to achieve specific tasks. Information about each task force is passed back to the collegial support group. A full faculty meeting is held once a month and when special issues needing active participation of all faculty arise.

Figure 1

SCHOOL MODEL OF OPERATIONS

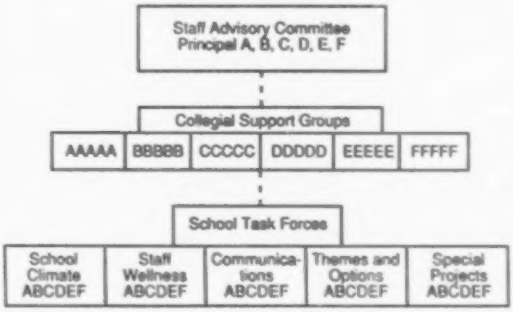
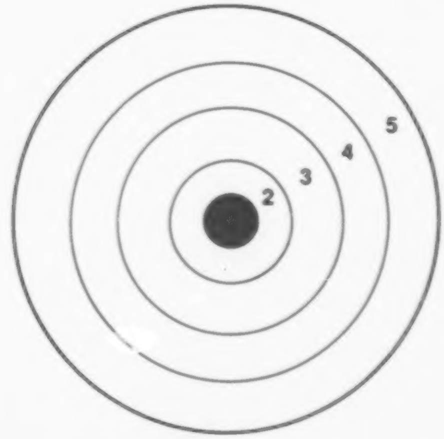


Figure 2

Developmental Approach to School Change



1 = Most Committed 5 = Least Committed

Creating the Cooperative School

Well begun is half done.
Aristotle

The change from a mass-production competitive/individualistic organizational structure to a high-performance cooperative team organizational structure takes several years of developmental (rather than revolutionary) change. When most teachers are not committed to implementing cooperative learning, change proceeds from the most competent and interested teachers to the least competent or least interested teachers (see Figure 2). *Training should be conducted only with volunteers.* It should not be imposed on resistant or uninterested teachers. Each year, a new set of participants to be trained are recruited by colleagues who are involved in implementing cooperative learning within their classrooms. In a healthy implementation, more and more teachers will volunteer to participate in the training until, over a period of years, most of the teachers within the school have received the training and are using cooperative learning effectively. The steps in changing developmentally from a mass-manufacturing to a high-performance organizational structure are as follows.

Step 1: Teacher Training

The first step is to train an initial group of volunteer, outstanding teachers (opinion leaders) in how to use cooperative learning in the classroom. Teachers must clearly understand what cooperative learning is and how to implement it. They must then adapt cooperative learning to their own subject area, curriculum materials, circumstances, and students, so that they (a) "own" the cooperative learning being used within their classrooms, and (b) incorporate the use of cooperative learning into their professional identities as teachers. Implementing cooperative learning is hard work and is realized only by teachers who choose to do it. The training typically lasts for three years and has two focuses:

1. Training teachers to use cooperative learning effectively.
2. Networking teachers into collegial support groups focused on helping one another implement cooperative learning in their classrooms.

In order for teachers to implement cooperative learning procedures to a *routine-use level* (where they can automatically structure a lesson cooperatively without preplanning or conscious thought), teachers need time to gain experience in an incremental step-by-step manner. Adoption of a new teaching practice requires substantial shifts in habits and routines. These shifts take time. Teachers should not be expected to be immediate experts on cooperative learning or else they will feel overwhelmed and unable to cope. When teachers are expected to gain expertise in too short a period of time, "role overload" and feelings of helplessness may result. When given enough time, teachers will experience increased confidence in their professional competence. Two to three years may be the average amount of time required to become a skilled user of cooperative learning procedures.

The *first year* teachers receive six days of training in the fundamentals of cooperative learning and meet weekly in collegial support groups (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1991). The training focuses on the nature of cooperative learning, the teacher's role in using cooperative learning, the essential elements that make cooperative efforts effective, and the research support for using cooperative learning. The weekly collegial support group meetings are aimed toward helping group members implement cooperative learning in their classrooms. The teachers become an *inhouse demonstration project* for other teachers to view and then emulate by also undertaking the training and using cooperative learning in the classroom.

The *second year* teachers receive six days of training in advanced use of cooperative learning and meet weekly in their collegial support groups (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1988). The training focuses on (1) using informal cooperative learning groups and base groups as well as formal cooperative learning groups, (2) using cooperative, competitive, and individualistic learning in an integrated way within the same curriculum unit, (3) teaching small group skills, and (4) examining repetitive lessons for which various cooperative learning structures may be used.

The *third year* teachers receive six days of training in using conflict creatively to enhance learning and meet weekly in their collegial support groups (Johnson & Johnson, 1987). The training focuses on how to (1) use structured controversies within the cooperative learning groups to increase critical thinking, higher-level reasoning, perspective-taking ability, motivation, and achievement, and (2) train students to be peer mediators and help each other negotiate constructive resolutions to their conflicts. The more committed individuals are to achieving the group's goals and to each other, the more frequently conflicts occur within the group. Conflicts are moments of truth that determine whether group productivity increases or decreases. *How constructively conflicts are resolved becomes the central issue of how well long-term cooperative relationships are managed.* Students, teachers, and administrators, therefore, need to be trained in how to make creative and high quality team decisions, how to negotiate constructive resolutions of conflicts, and how to mediate conflicts among other team members (Johnson & Johnson, 1987).

Collegial support groups are the key to successful training. Teachers participating in the training need to be organized into collegial support groups that focus on helping each member master cooperative learning. Follow-up and maintenance are vital to the successful implementation of cooperative learning so that the pressures to go "back to business as usual" do not cause a decay in the use of cooperative learning. Teachers learn *about* cooperative learning in the training sessions, but learn *how* to use cooperative learning within their own classrooms. Teachers need supportive, available colleagues who sustain each other's interest in implementing cooperative learning and teach each other how to do so. *The training emphasizes demonstrations, hands-on trying out the strategies, on-call help and support from colleagues, and feedback about how well the teachers are implementing cooperative learning.* Colleagues should be on call to demonstrate, co-teach, problem solve, and provide help when it is needed and wanted. Feedback on the success of the participants' efforts in implementing cooperative learning is important if they are to continue to use cooperative learning and improve in doing so. Such feedback is best provided by supportive colleagues.

Step 2: Administrator Training

The second step is to train administrators in how to lead the cooperative school (Johnson & Johnson, 1989b). Teachers need support and advocacy from building and district administrators. Concurrently with the teacher training, administrators are trained to (1) challenge the status quo of the mass-manufacturing, competitive/individualistic approach to education, (2) create a shared vision of the cooperative school, (3) empower staff members by organizing them into collegial support groups, task forces, and ad hoc decision-making groups, (4) lead by example by modeling the use of cooperative procedures within faculty meetings, task forces, and other relevant meetings, and (5) encourage teachers' hearts to persist in continuously improving their expertise in using cooperative learning groups over long periods of time. Building administrators are themselves organized into district collegial support groups and task forces.

Step 3: Leadership Training

The third step is to train district personnel to be leaders in implementing cooperative learning and to conduct the training of teachers. Eventually, each school district should have an ongoing, inhouse training program in cooperative learning operated by teachers and staff development personnel within the district. The teachers who develop the most expertise in using cooperative learning and who wish to train other teachers enter a *leadership training* program that teaches them how to (a) conduct the three training courses, and (b) facilitate the functioning of collegial support groups. The result is continuous training in cooperative learning throughout the district by inhouse staff.

A support system is needed to encourage and assist teachers in a long-term, multi-year effort to improve continually their professional competence.

Step 4: Institutionalization

The fourth step is to institutionalize cooperative learning and the cooperative school within the district. Institutionalization requires that:

1. The majority of teachers and administrators within a school district use and support the use of cooperative learning.
2. The district commits "hard-line" money and positions to provide the ongoing support and assistance required to ensure that teachers grow to use cooperative learning at least 60 percent of the time throughout their careers.
3. Cooperative learning procedures are written into curriculum.
4. The district's commitment to cooperative learning survives several "cycles" of new budget rounds and personnel changeovers.
5. Administrators implement cooperative procedures within the building and district so that there is a congruent organizational structure at all levels throughout the district (Johnson & Johnson, 1989b).

Long-Term Time Perspective

If a man does not know to which port he is sailing, no wind is favorable.
Seneca

The importance of structuring cooperation throughout all levels of the school district becomes most apparent when a realistic time perspective is taken for learning from colleagues. *The process of gaining expertise in teaching is no different than gaining expertise in any other field. It takes at least one lifetime.* Professional growth is a complex, time-consuming, and difficult process that places both cognitive and emotional demands on teachers. A support system is needed to encourage and assist teachers in a long-term, multi-year effort to improve continually their professional competence. With only a moderately difficult teaching strategy, for example, teachers may require from 20 to 30 hours of instruction in its theory, 15 to 20 demonstrations using it with different students and subjects, and an additional 10 to 15 coaching sessions to attain higher-level skills. For a more difficult teaching strategy several years of training and support may be needed to ensure that teachers master it. Commitment to implementing cooperative learning, and gaining expertise in using cooperative learning, needs to extend throughout teachers' careers.

Summary

If you place a frog in a pot of boiling water, it will immediately jump out with little damage to itself. But if you place a frog in a pot of cold water, and slowly raise the temperature, the frog seems to adapt well to the new conditions, and stays in the pot until the water reaches 212 degrees Fahrenheit—boiling—and the frog quickly dies. The frog does not have the sensors required to detect when one more gradual change endangers its life.

Many organizations are like frogs. They make incremental changes to their environment until a fundamental change occurs and suddenly they can no longer survive. Throughout the world schools are facing fundamental changes in world interdependence and are trying to adapt. To do so, they must change from a mass-manufacturing, competitive/individualistic organizational structure to a high-performance, cooperative team-based organizational structure. This new organizational structure is known as the cooperative school.

In a cooperative school students work primarily in cooperative learning groups, teachers and building staff work in cooperative teams, as do the district administrators. The heart of the cooperative school is cooperative learning. *Cooperative learning* is the instructional use of small groups so that students work together to maximize their own and each other's learning. Cooperative learning groups may be used to teach specific content *(formal cooperative learning groups)*, to ensure active cognitive processing of information during a lecture *(informal cooperative learning groups)*, and to provide long-term support and assistance for academic progress *(cooperative base groups)*. Within the school staff, members work in collegial support groups to increase teacher's instructional expertise and success, in task forces to plan and implement solutions to schoolwide problems, and in ad hoc decision-making groups to involve all staff members in important school decisions. At the district level administrators are also structured into teams. The effectiveness of cooperative efforts depends on positive interdependence, face-to-face promotive interaction, individual accountability, interpersonal and small-group skills, and group processing.

The amount of research demonstrating the effectiveness of cooperative efforts is staggering. Over 600 studies have been conducted over a 90-year period. The amount of research demonstrating that cooperative efforts promote greater productivity, more positive relationships, and greater psychological health than do competitive or individualistic efforts places cooperation in a class by itself. How many bright eyes, curious minds, potential scholars, and skillful colleagues have died in schools using a mass manufacturing, competitive/individualistic organizational structure? The advantages of changing from a mass-manufacturing to a high-performance, team-based organizational structure are hard to deny.

When most staff members are committed to cooperative learning, an overall team-based organizational structure can be implemented. To reach such a point, a developmental approach is recommended. The most competent and interested teachers are first trained, then a second group of the next most competent and interested teachers are trained, and so forth until most teachers in the school are using cooperative learning the majority of the time. Concurrently, administrators need to be trained in how to lead the cooperative school. Personnel interested in staff development are then trained to conduct the training sessions and facilitate the functioning of collegial support groups so that the training program can continue indefinitely. The use of cooperative learning and the team-based organizational structure then need to be institutionalized within the district. To complete successfully the transition from a mass-manufacturing to a high-performance, team-based organizational structure, a long-term time perspective and persistent, patient efforts are required.

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Accommodating Individual Mainstreamed Learners Within Cooperative Groups

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Concerns about successful integration of students with disabilities involve issues of facilitating positive relationships between special education students and their regular education peers as well as decreasing stereotyping and stigmatization which may lead to rejection and low self esteem. Johnson and Johnson (1986) suggest that teachers can influence the success of mainstreaming special education students by promoting cooperation and structuring interdependence. Students in groups that included mainstreamed special education students and in which all students were instructed in collaborative skills were found to interact more positiviely with each other than did students in cooperative groups who did not have specific group skill instruction (Putnam, Rynders, Johnson, & Johnson, 1989).

As the use of cooperative learning has become more widespread, several researchers have shown concern over the effectiveness of this methodology for students with disabilities. Both Johnson and Johnson (1980) and Slavin (1984) assert that the use of cooperative learning during instruction promotes peer relationships among mainstreamed special education and regular education students. Few studies have systematically examined the effects of this type of instruction for special education students. In two recent reviews (Lloyd, Crawley, Kohler, & Strain, 1988; Tateyama-Sniezek, 1990), a total of only 15 studies were cited in which cooperative learning activities involved students with mild or severe disabilities. Cooperative learning was found to facilitate social acceptance of special education students (Lloyd et al., 1988). The effects on academic performance are not as strongly reported in favor of cooperative learning. In studies in which results were analyzed separately for students with and without disabilities, positive achievement effects as a result of cooperative group instruction have often not been found (e.g., Cosden, Pearl, & Bryan, 1985; Madden & Slavin, 1983; Johnson & Johnson, 1982; Johnson, Johnson, DeWeerdt, Lyons, & Zaidman, 1983). Stevens and Slavin (1991) have concerns about the studies analyzed by Tateyama-Sniezek. In only five of the 13 studies were individual accountability and group reward elements of cooperative learning employed in group activities. They also note that the mean length of duration for cooperative learning activities in the remaining studies was only 12 days. Steven and Slavin conclude, as does Tateyama-Sniezek, that more research is needed.

There are a number of reasons students with particular disabilities might not perform well within cooperative groups. Students with learning disabilities often demonstrate poor pragmatic skills (Dudley-Marling, 1985). Lapadat (1991) found that such pragmatic skills, or abilities to use language appropriately in social, situational, and communicative context, are significantly lower in learning disabled students than in non-learning disabled students and concludes that this should be considered in classroom instruction. Students with learning disabilities also have problems specific to peer group communications, including difficulties in initiating and maintaining conversations (Bryan, Donahue, Pearl, & Strum, 1981), taking leadership roles during group activities, and being able to persuade others (Bryan, Donahue, & Pearl, 1981).

To determine readiness of special education students for re-entry into regular classrooms (the Regular Education Initiative), a recent study examined elementary school teacher instruction. The study found that instruction was directed to the whole class or large groups and that no differentiated assignments were given to accommodate differences in individual learning abilities within groups (Baker & Zigmond, 1990). Teachers had received extensive inservice education concerning the integration of special education students, but continued to teach to the class as a whole. The authors raised concerns about attempted integration of alternative instruction that would include cooperative learning.

Accommodations for Differences

Several authors address methods for accommodating the differences in learning rates and styles within groups. Slavin (1980) advocates the use of improvement scoring which gives teams points based upon the amount of improvement made by learners. This method allows for lower-achieving students to be valuable, point-scoring team members. It also encourages others within the group to tutor the special education students so that they can succeed, thereby gaining points for the team.

The use of expert groups in cooperative learning jigsaw activities can benefit students with learning disabilities by giving them a chance to verbally rehearse what they will be teaching to home group members. In these activities, materials are jigsawed, with students in home groups each being responsible for different information. Students leave their home groups to form new "expert" groups in which students who have responsibility for the same information meet to clarify the content and prepare to teach it to home group members. Kagan (1985) suggests pairing two students together as one team member during jigsaw activities. This "twinning" allows high and low ability students to work together in the expert groups and make a single report on information back to their group. This gives the lower-functioning student the opportunity to gain information and, at the same time, not let the group down by doing an inadequate job of reporting. As with the improvement scoring method, the group comes to view the special education member as valuable to the group.

The California State Department of Education (1987) published a lesson plan book of cooperative learning lessons collected from some of the state's teachers. One criterion for lessons being selected for publication was the successful inclusion of high-risk or special education students within the lesson design. Strategies for addressing differences were written into some lessons as well as possible problems that might arise during the lesson and suggested interventions. Specific suggestions include:

- changing the nature of the task for the whole group to a manipulative format if students couldn't do written work on their own
- using a behavior-disordered child as the group's monitor/observer
- using more informal games to practice academic tasks before doing the group work
- assigning tasks to group members based on appropriateness for their abilities
- giving students experience with social skills prior to the group work (perhaps with a resource specialist)
- giving a social skills grade as a motivator for a bright student within a group who wants to work alone
- breaking into two groups of two and then reconvening the group of four to discuss answers
- asking the group to identify and solve the problem of a special education student not being accepted within the group
- giving directions verbally and on the board, and asking the groups to ask each other if they are unsure of what to do

Current Practices

There is consensus that cooperative learning is a viable method for increasing social acceptance of students with differences, and potentially increasing academic performance for both the student with disabilities and the regular student. Yet few studies have sought to determine teacher practices with regard to use of cooperative learning strategies for accommodating learners with different learning styles. The purpose of this study was to determine teachers' abilities to generate ways to make accommodations in cooperative learning activities for special education students and to assess their use of these adaptations.

The subjects for this study were 46 practicing elementary and secondary teachers who had just completed a course on mainstreaming individuals with exceptional needs. During the special education course, they completed assignments addressing modifications of lessons to accommodate special education students. All teachers had attended at least one workshop on cooperative learning, with most participating in one to three days of staff development activities. Most teachers indicated that they currently used a form of this technique in their classrooms. While all teachers reported using cooperative learning extensively in their classes, follow-up interviews determined that it was not uncommon for these teachers to employ cooperative learning in less than one lesson per day (with students grouped in table groups all day). Teachers represented grades K through 12, with the majority teaching grades 2 through 6. The teachers were given hypothetical situations in which special education students within the cooperative group were the focus of problems needed to be addressed by the teacher as a facilitator. For each situation, teachers were asked to generate as many solutions to the problems as possible and to mark those that they had actually used. Of the total responses, only one teacher indicated that she had tried one of her responses in the classroom. The course instructor evaluated that all of the responses were appropriate for specific classroom and group circumstances.

Specific ideas for modifying the group experience to accommodate the disabled student fell into several general categories. The first area included those suggestions that allow student choices. Several respondents felt that if the group had more control over how and what its members had to learn within the group, then less animosity might be expressed toward the students who couldn't do their share in a teacher-assigned task. Another general grouping included ideas related to disability awareness. Respondents considered that if the class as a whole were engaged in simulation experiences, role-playing, and team-building activities addressing differences and similarities, then the students would be more likely to work well with special education students assigned to their groups. An unexpected issue arose regarding curriculum. Respondents indicated a concern about instructional materials appropriately depicting students with disabilities as well as addressing cooperation. They considered current materials about people with disabilities to be somewhat stereotypical (always a hero, or always in need), while much of the literature is about individuals who overcame obstacles rather than groups working together for a common goal.

Are teachers using modifications for disabled students, but failing to do so when giving a group assignment?

Respondents struggled with the notion of group grades for group work. Many wanted to eliminate group grades altogether; others had systems for weighting scores to make grading more equitable. The issue of group grades as well as intrinsic and extrinsic rewards for group performance has been examined by a number of researchers and practitioners in the field of cooperative education (Graves, 1991). While beyond the scope of this article, the practice of giving grades for group performance has implications for mainstreamed students.

The only suggestion that any respondent had actually tried in his/her classroom was team-building activities, and these were not specific to disabilities. This raises serious concerns about the practice of cooperative group learning for students with disabilities. Are teachers using modifications for disabled students, but failing to do so when giving a group assignment? Are teachers considering that the team will support a student in need, and therefore the cooperative learning group IS the modification? Are teachers teaching the group skills necessary for group learning, and specifically, are they ensuring that social skills are being taught to the special education students (by the teacher or a resource specialist)? Are teachers consulting special education personnel for assistance in planning and/or modifying group activities? Are special education teachers and resource personnel well versed in cooperative learning methods? Are staff developers addressing the needs of students with disabilities when providing inservice education in cooperative learning for regular teachers?

Issues for Continued Research

It can be concluded from a review of the literature that models for working with diversity within a group do exist and that there can be success for all students provided that attention is given to accommodations for specific learning styles and to teaching group behaviors. Teachers in this study suggest accommodations that do not take considerable planning time or effort and that do not detract from (and may even enhance) group learning experiences. There is little evidence to suggest that teachers have received education in how to accomplish this, or that they use such methods when presented with the situation. Clearly, more research in actual practices is warranted.

Inservice opportunities represent a primary concern. For teachers who are not employed in project schools that provide extensive staff development activities addressing cooperative learning and diversity, it is questionable whether inservice opportunities are comprehensive enough for teachers to both learn cooperative learning methods and modify these methods for students with disabilities. Is there a supportive environment in which to try some of the methods? What follow-up experiences are there for such teachers?

Another concern is with teachers' familiarity with methods to accommodate special education students. What courses have they had and what consultation services exist on site to assist with making such modifications? If teachers do know how to modify curriculum and instruction for students with disabilities in the regular classroom, this skill can be applied to the group setting.

The most serious concern and need for research is in determining what teachers do with the skills they possess for cooperative learning and meeting special needs. What really happens with regard to this in a typical school or classroom and, more importantly, what is the effect on the group and on the individual with special needs? If, in fact, working in cooperative groups with differentiated tasks and/or circumstances can be shown to be of benefit to both students with exceptional needs and to regular students, service delivery will be affected. Demands for coursework and supervision for teachers in implementing these skills would be greatly needed.

Providing the best individualized education in the least restrictive environment has been the object of concern and scrutiny since before legislation mandated the right for special education students to be educated with their peers. Cooperative learning may be one viable method for including all students in regular education programs with positive social and academic benefits. With further research, information can be obtained and used to better the education of teachers to ensure that this regular education environment is the appropriate learning environment for all students.

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Administrative Support of Cooperative Learning: Converging Paths to Implementation

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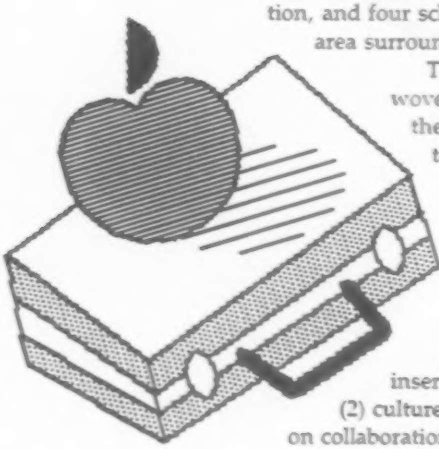
Interest in and use of cooperative learning have flourished in the past decade. Cooperative learning appears to be an innovation appropriate for our times. Surprisingly little information, however, has been published regarding how school and school district administrators can support it. In this article we illustrate how three implementation perspectives—technical, political, and cultural—can be used to understand and organize administrative support for cooperative learning.

Experienced administrators know that teachers often view the same change or innovation from different perspectives. Some may see the change as a technical matter of learning a new practice or refining present practice. Others may perceive the change as a political struggle between classroom teachers and other educational authorities over curriculum content or delivery. Still others may interpret the change in terms of its fit with beliefs, norms, and practices that characterize the teacher culture of the school. These three perspectives provide a useful framework for understanding the different paths to implementation that teachers take and the associated actions made by district and school administrators (Corbett & Rossman, 1989).

Context

The present study took place within the Learning Consortium, a school district and university partnership between The Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, and four school districts in the area surrounding Toronto.



Three themes have woven their way through the various joint undertakings of the Consortium (Fullan, Bennett, & Rolheiser-Bennett, 1990): (1) teachers as life-long learners (linking preservice, induction, inservice, and leadership); (2) cultures of teaching (a focus on collaboration and interactive professionalism, and (3) links between teacher development and school improvement (a focus on instruction).

Since 1988 the Learning Consortium has sponsored an annual Summer Institute—Cooperative Learning, Coaching, and Managing Educational Change—for teachers and administrators from the Consortium organizations. This one-week program provides school-based teams of one administrator and two teachers with an intensive introduction to cooperative learning, utilizing the best practices of staff development, such as examination of theory, observation and participation in demonstrations, practice and feedback in a microteaching format, and development of peer support networks. Additionally, participants in the Institute are introduced to the principles and practices of managing educational change. Follow-up assistance for Summer Institute participants is provided both by the Learning Consortium and the individual school districts. The initiative is part of a larger context wherein cooperative learning is both a school and district priority.

The Study

This article describes and discusses the actions of school and district administrators in supporting the implementation of cooperative learning. The data are taken from a follow-up study involving Summer Institute participants (principals and teachers) from eight elementary (K-6, K-8) schools in two of the school districts. Standardized open-ended interviews focusing on implementation progress and concerns were conducted with teachers in the fall and spring (Anderson, Bennett, & Rolheiser-Bennett, 1991). Standardized interviews with principals were administered in the fall, winter, and spring regarding administrative actions to support the teachers during early implementation.

The Findings

The remainder of this paper presents findings from our study. Administrative actions to support the implementation of cooperative learning are described at the district and school levels. These actions are organized in relation to the three perspectives on implementation—the technical, political, and cultural paths. The data, summarized for the district level in Table 1 and for the school level in Table 2, are explained more fully in the following sections. The items listed in the tables represent a composite picture of administrative actions across both districts and the eight schools. Similarities and variations in the use of these actions in different settings are described in the ensuing text!

Table 1.
District Administrators' Actions in Supporting the Implementation of Cooperative Learning (CL)

	District Administrators' Actions	
Technical	Political	Cultural
• Provide high quality initial support for school-based teams of administrators and teachers • Facilitate opportunities for networking across schools for key teachers and others • Provide money to support follow-up activities • Provide inservice for district consultants • Provide initial and follow-up time for school-based teams to plan for implementation • Evolutionary planning for district-wide implementation and continuation • Involve/create partnership with external organizations (e.g., universities, other school districts, educational organizations) • Professional development for implementation progress keyed to different needs	• Establish and communicate CL as a system priority • Mandatory professional development for all schools and teachers, focused on CL • Application for involvement in initial training • Require school-based teams of administrators and teachers for initial training • Latitude from district officials to limit the number of changes affecting school personnel • Incorporate the innovation into principal supervision	• Make CL a multi-year priority • Public encouragement to implement CL • Help school personnel link school-based initiatives with district initiatives • Model CL by district personnel • Provide inservice for principals across the system • Public recognition of achievement/success • Involvement of senior officials by attending training for school-based teams

Table 2.
Principals' Actions in Supporting the Implementation of Cooperative Learning (CL)

	Principals' Actions	
Technical	Political	Cultural
• Start with assistance (e.g. training) for key teachers • Extended training and assist others in developing expertise • Provide direct training and/or assistance by school administrators • Create opportunities for joint team planning, observation, sharing, peer coaching, and networking • Monitor implementation concerns, progress, and effects • Participate in evolutionary planning for school-wide implementation with key teachers • Utilize and build awareness of external resources to support implementation	• Communicate expectations for use to teachers • In partnership with staff, formalize CL into school goals • Formalize action plans based on school goals • Mandate joint team planning, observation, sharing, and peer coaching • Evaluate teacher implementation • Build CL into school curriculum plans	• Actively initiate CL through experimentation and risk-taking • Develop awareness of change process among staff • Build a rationale for use of CL • Address both the social and academic learning objectives of teachers • Acquire personal knowledge of CL, model CL techniques, and indicate enthusiasm • Recognize and reward teacher efforts • Selective staffing • Communicate to parents about CL

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Technical Path

The technical path is a rational approach to implementation that involves planning and technical assistance, such as the availability of information, inservice training, and human and material resources. Teachers entering the technical path typically engage in a cycle of encouragement, assistance, and trial use. The outcomes of trial use often initiate another cycle through the technical path (Corbett & Rossman, 1989).

Past research suggests that the technical path may vary in the source and intensity of assistance, depending on whether teachers are among the early users of the change or if they start at a later date. Changes in a school are often sparked by the positive experience of a small group of teachers whose enthusiasm and expertise encourage others to get involved.

In this study the technical path made a powerful contribution to successful implementation. The Summer Institutes and follow-up opportunities were and continue to be viewed as key strategies for developing teacher and principal expertise in cooperative learning. Entry into this path has been essential to building a credible mass of support within the school. All of the administrators utilized this path, but not to the exclusion of the political and cultural paths to implementation.

District

District officials in our study made use of the technical path to build school-level involvement and expertise in cooperative learning. This was the primary path of initiation and support for school-based teams. Summer Institute teams had access to quality training. Team members were expected to work together to plan, observe, and support one another back at the school. Initial training was supplemented by opportunities for the teams to share successes, problem-solve, and refine prior learning in district and Learning Consortium follow-up sessions. Summer Institute teams also had access to external consultants for school or teacher-specific needs. A key strategy used by the districts was to incorporate into initial training time for school-based teams to plan their own implementation activities and diffusion efforts for other teachers in the school.

Both districts utilized district-sponsored inservices on a recurring basis aimed at introducing cooperative learning to a wider pool of teachers. The inservices conducted by the district were held during regular school hours with supply coverage, or on regularly scheduled professional development days. This approach indicated to the participants that they and the innovation were valued.

Finally, the district provided training in cooperative learning for district consultants. These consultants were expected to provide support for teachers and administrators in the schools, either in the form of training or follow-up support in the schools. Initially, it was difficult for district consultants who had no classroom experience with cooperative learning to develop enough expertise and credibility to assist teachers beyond providing introductory workshops. The continued partnership with external consultants beyond initial training proved essential to continued progress with the change and to the development of district-level expertise.

In both districts officials attempted to access additional support for users and interested users of the innovation. They provided opportunities for networking across schools for key teachers and others (e.g., linking users, providing money for release time). District involvement in the Learning Consortium increased the range of assistance available to the educational personnel within the partner organizations.

Rather than following a blueprint approach to change, district personnel in both settings engaged in evolutionary planning of district-wide support for cooperative learning in the schools. They began with a general game plan and continually modified it based on informal and formal monitoring of implementation progress and user needs (Louis & Miles, 1990). While user needs influenced which changes were made, district officials also made use of findings from the change literature to guide their planning.

Schools

The principals adopted similar approaches to the technical path due to their participation in the Summer Institute application and training processes. There were differences, however, in their approach to key decisions, such as the selection of teachers for school-based teams and their reliance on encouragement or authority to stimulate diffusion of the change.

All the principals started with training for key teachers, but their methods of selecting those teachers varied. Some principals invited particular teachers to attend the Summer Institute. Others either selected attendees strategically from volunteers or simply chose the first interested people. Whether by accident or design, the selection process resulted in school teams of generalist teachers or resource teachers, or a mix of the two. The relative success of these strategies relates to a range of variables, such as personality, other responsibilities of the teacher, peer respect, and prior experience with cooperative learning). Paramount factors were position and status of the key teachers in the school and their availability to work with others. Personal growth and diffusion of the innovation occurred more readily when teachers had their own classroom to experiment. When the teacher was a member of an ongoing team (grade, level, division, or subject team), other teachers were more likely to get involved.

Paramount factors were position and status of the key teachers in the school and their availability to work with others.

In addition to the key teachers, the principals in the study also extended encouragement and assistance to others in the school early in the implementation process. Given the ongoing district support, the principals were able to access district-sponsored inservices throughout the year and to provide introductory workshops at the school level by the key teachers or consultants. Some principals participated in the delivery of introductory training to others in the school. When this occurred it was usually done in collaboration with the key teachers in the school or with external consultants.

The principals played an active role in facilitating interaction between the users of cooperative learning. Such facilitation included team planning time, classroom observation opportunities inside and outside the school, and the sharing of lessons and experiences. Team planning options included joint planning periods during the regular school day, blocks of planning time during professional development days, or classroom coverage to support peer consultation and observation. While initially these activities were available for only school-based Summer Institute teams, over time they became available to a wide range of interested teachers. Once again, the notion was to build a critical mass in the school and to avoid fragmentation of the staff in the process.

The principals actively monitored implementation concerns, progress, and effects. They solicited and responded to staff concerns about cooperative learning during staff meetings and workshops. Some monitored progress and effects informally through class visitations (spontaneously visiting classes or requesting an invitation to classes when teachers were going to be teaching a cooperative lesson). Some principals teamed up with a cooperative learning user in a classroom to co-teach. In addition, most were able to monitor teacher concerns, progress, and effects by continually inviting teachers to talk about the successes and problems they were experiencing. As is noted from other research (Fullan, 1991), talking to the stakeholders about the innovation increases understanding and commitment in the early stages of implementation.

All the school-based teams developed at the Summer Institute an initial "game plan" for implementation. Most of the principals subsequently practiced evolutionary planning with their team, changing their planning in light of their own and their teachers' learning and emerging needs, and their perception of responses by other school staff. There was a greater impact on personal progress with cooperative learning among the Summer Institute teachers, and on the diffusion to other teachers in the school, when the administrator(s) remained involved in the innovation beyond the initial training.

The principals most successful in bringing about implementation of cooperative learning were those who utilized and built awareness of external resources. These principals were active in scanning the environment for appropriate human and material resources, as well as being proactive in acquiring and using existing resources. Some were relentless in this regard, putting conference notices in mailboxes, getting multiple copies of relevant literature, connecting teachers with other users, and seeking out special funding opportunities to direct towards cooperative learning projects, among other efforts.

The establishment of cooperative learning as a school goal was a key political intervention to reinforce and extend implementation. Formalization into school goals typically did not occur, however, until administratively supported and assisted experimentation in the school had been underway for a year.

Overall, the principals' active continual involvement in implementation planning, assistance, and monitoring had an important influence on teachers' entry into and continuation in the technical path.

Political Path

The political path involves the use of authority and power by key decision makers to urge teachers into implementation, typically by altering rules and regulations that bear upon curriculum and instruction. Decision makers may include district and school administrators, as well as groups of teachers who make decisions together about matters of consequence in the classroom and school. Judicious use of the political path may encourage some teachers to get started, but without access to technical support and cultural reinforcement, the progress of such changes will be short-lived.

District-level political action played an important role in setting the cooperative learning initiative in motion. However, if political intervention at the school level came too early, i.e., before a committed nucleus of users and support for cooperative learning developed in the school, teachers' personal concerns about the change intensified and established a formidable barrier to productive experimentation and discussion of cooperative learning. Generally, teachers did not object to incorporating cooperative learning into school goals, curriculum plans, or teacher supervision once their initial concerns had been resolved and enough teachers had experimented with the change to develop a credible mass of support within the school.

District

District officials used political authority and power in several ways to stimulate school-level involvement in cooperative learning. First, they adopted cooperative learning as a multi-year staff development priority for all teachers. The priority and expectations were communicated through public statements, written documents, and other media. The pressure on principals to implement was tempered by encouragement from district officials to limit the initiatives competing for teacher time and to adapt system priorities to school goals and timelines for implementation.

The adoption of cooperative learning as a system priority permitted further actions in the political path. Some officials held principals accountable for cooperative learning through the principal supervision process. One district committed two system-wide inservice days to cooperative learning. Awareness sessions were held for all teachers in order to encourage participation in the technical path through follow-up activities in the district, schools, and other organizations. District inservice initiatives motivated district consultants to refine their knowledge of cooperative learning.

Entry into the more intensive technical path via the Summer Institutes and district institutes was restricted by an application process. The application process committed schools to develop a rationale for change, to create school teams, and to begin to formulate an action plan to put cooperative learning into practice.

Schools

Principals varied in the timing and range of political interventions to promote cooperative learning. They frequently reminded teachers of expectations for implementation in staff meetings (e.g., "I expect them all to learn to use it as one of their teaching techniques. . . This year I expect everybody to at least reach the awareness stage of understanding what cooperative learning is. Next year I expect them all to at least have tried it out."). Some reinforced their expectations individually with reluctant teachers.

The establishment of cooperative learning as a school goal was a key political intervention to reinforce and extend implementation. Formalization into school goals typically did not occur, however, until administratively supported and assisted experimentation in the school had been underway for a year. This allowed principals to test whether teacher interest was likely to continue, and whether the results of implementation were worth the effort, before making implementation an "official" expectation.

A few principals made cooperative learning a school goal before developing a nucleus of committed users, and before creating initial awareness and knowledge among other teachers. This aroused widespread teacher concerns about the relationship of cooperative learning to existing classroom practices. Implementation proceeded more readily when the value of cooperative learning was proven by credible colleagues before making it a goal for all teachers.

Teacher participation in decisions about school goals and plans varied. Some principals set goals and plans without teacher input. Typically these were principals who mandated implementation without experimentation. Often they invoked additional political measures, such as lesson plan requirements and teacher evaluation procedures, to get teachers started. These principals had to devote considerable attention to teachers' initial personal and informational concerns. Most principals involved staff in setting school goals and plans for cooperative learning after a successful period of experimentation. Teacher participation in these decisions created feelings of both empowerment and obligation. Opinions about cooperative learning were less contentious in these schools, and teacher commitment to use was more widespread.

Changes in belief are more likely to follow than to precede change in behavior . . .

The principals used a variety of strategies to build cooperative learning into the school curriculum, hoping that this might increase teacher commitment to implementation. Some involved key users of cooperative learning in school curriculum projects (e.g., social science program revision, whole language, integration of library resources). Others required teachers to develop one or more cooperative learning lesson plans in any subject. Planning time was provided in conjunction with initial inservices for teachers to get started either on their own or with a partner or grade-level team. Another strategy required teachers to identify social skills objectives for the school, and to develop cooperative learning lessons to teach those skills. A disadvantage of this approach was that it raised teacher concerns about finding time to implement the "new" social skills curriculum.

The principals used several political maneuvers to make teachers accountable to each other and to the administration for implementation. After setting initial expectations for lesson planning and trial use, the principals arranged future staff meeting or inservice time for peer sharing. Most principals encouraged teachers to invite them to observe cooperative lessons. A few asked teachers to submit required lesson plans (though none actually enforced this expectation). One principal required all staff to schedule time with the Summer Institute teachers to observe, be observed, or team-plan and teach a cooperative learning lesson. Once cooperative learning became a school goal, all the principals said that they monitored implementation through the normal teacher supervision process.

Overall, political actions by principals to stimulate school-wide implementation of cooperative learning were more effective when invoked after a successful period of experimentation, and when staff participated in plans to make cooperative learning a school goal. Curriculum integration and teacher evaluation strategies helped consolidate implementation for early users, and did lead some reluctant teachers to try cooperative learning. For the latter teachers, the likelihood of more than superficial implementation depended on the linkage of political interventions to district and school-level support for implementation in the technical and cultural paths.

Cultural Path

The cultural path is activated when a change is perceived by teachers as conflicting with deeply held beliefs about curriculum, instruction, classroom management, or other aspects of teachers' worklives. Changes in belief are more likely to follow than to precede change in behavior, especially when the change is supported by practical, proven innovations, initial and ongoing assistance from credible trainers, and visible administrative commitment (Crandall, 1983; Gusky, 1985). Thus, cultural dissonance between a change and existing practice can be partly overcome through the technical and political paths. Where the distance between the old and the new is great, however, other interventions may be needed to modify teacher beliefs implicated and threatened by the change.

For many teachers cooperative learning represents a threat to deeply ingrained beliefs about curriculum, instruction, and classroom management (Anderson, Bennett, & Rolheiser-Bennett, 1991). Initially, they may fear that it is supposed to replace, rather than add to, classroom practices that have served them well. Group learning may conflict with teacher commitment to individualization and competition, to beliefs about student evaluation and rewards, and to curriculum coverage. They may question its appropriateness for certain groups of students due to perceived maturity, special needs, or subject matter constraints.

Most of the administrators in our study were sensitive to the perceived cultural gap between cooperative learning and the existing cultures of teaching in their schools. They intervened through the cultural path to encourage and sustain relevant changes in teacher beliefs and norms where necessary, as described below.

District

District officials attended to the cultural path to implementation by emphasizing the system-level commitment to cooperative learning. This was communicated to school personnel by making cooperative learning a multi-year priority for implementation; by committing substantial resources to inservice and assistance; by public announcements, encouragement, and recognition for implementation; by attending training for school-based teams, and by providing inservice on cooperative learning for principals across the system. Some district officials began modeling cooperative learning techniques in their interactions with groups of principals and teachers. These actions conveyed a clear message to teachers and principals that cooperative learning was important to the district and that they could expect sustained help with implementation.

Schools

Principals in our study approached the cultural path from two directions. On the one hand, they attempted to influence teacher attitudes and beliefs about the change process. On the other, they responded to teacher concerns arising from perceived conflict between cooperative learning and existing norms and beliefs.

Information about effective change management was incorporated into initial training for school-based teams. This influenced the principals' approach to school-wide implementation. Most promoted initiation by encouraging risk-taking and experimentation with cooperative learning in a supportive administrative and collegial context. Some talked with teachers about the stages of change to help them understand what to expect as they worked through the beginning implementation process.

Like district administrators, the principals signaled the importance they accorded to cooperative learning by supporting its adoption as a school goal, by communicating clear expectations and enthusiasm for the change, and by recognizing and rewarding teacher efforts (e.g., through personal notes, newsletters, leadership opportunities, and access to special resources).

Through the Summer Institute, the principals acquired some basic knowledge and skills in the use of cooperative learning. Most became advocates of cooperative learning as a result of this inservice experience, which included information about student outcomes, an introduction to the principal and strategies of cooperative learning, and participation in the use of cooperative learning techniques in both the "student" and "teacher" roles.

The principals' involvement in the Summer Institute conveyed an important symbolic message to teachers about the principals' interest in cooperative learning. Beyond mere symbolism, the principals gained sufficient understanding of cooperative learning to begin to develop a rationale for use linked to policy, practice, and research. They were able to discuss how cooperative learning fit in with other school system and school goals. They were able to make connections between cooperative learning and traditional small-group learning practices. Perhaps most importantly, they were able to link cooperative learning to teacher concerns about students' social and/or academic development, and to share research about student outcomes obtained with cooperative learning. By building a sound rationale for use, the principals were able to reduce, in part, the perceived gap between cooperative learning and teachers' prior beliefs and norms.

Many principals applied their newly acquired skills in cooperative learning in a "soft sell" approach to getting teachers interested in implementation. They introduced cooperative learning techniques such as heterogeneous groups, jigsaw procedures, and group learning tactics in staff meetings to facilitate discussion and decisions about noncurriculum issues in the school. Some involved teachers in simple cooperative activities that teachers could take back to the classroom and try out with students. They also incorporated cooperative learning strategies into inservice activities related to other school changes. The intent was to model cooperative learning for teachers by having them experience it first hand in a nonthreatening context. The hope was that this would help ameliorate unfounded fears about the change, and would encourage more teachers to enter the technical path to implementation.

Several principals used strategic staffing tactics to increase the pool of teachers committed to cooperative learning. Some schools were undergoing an increase in teaching staff due to growing enrollment. Some were experiencing staff turnover due to teacher retirements and to district teacher mobility policies which worked to encourage teachers with six or more years in a school to transfer. These situations made it easier for principals to hire additional teachers with prior interest in cooperative learning and to ease out teachers unwilling to commit to school goals.

Finally, principals attended to teacher anxieties about parent reactions to the use of cooperative learning. They did this by highlighting school goals and teacher activities related to those goals in school newsletters, and by modeling cooperative learning with parents as participants on program nights or at parent meetings. Contrary to initial teacher concerns, there was no significant parent opposition to cooperative learning in any of the schools.

Conclusion

In this study we've illustrated three paths for understanding and assisting other educators as they consider implementation of cooperative learning. Administrative support for any one path alone will not ensure implementation; the convergence and complementary nature of all three paths needs to be considered.

The *technical* path was crucial in this study, to the initiation of cooperative learning in the school, the building of a credible mass of users, and the continuation of it as an innovation.

The *political* path was important to legitimizing the change for early users, and urging other teachers to get involved. However, the timing of political actions is a critical issue. If too early, experimentation by teachers is squelched and anxiety and resistance is heightened.

For many teachers, cooperative learning touches on fundamental values and beliefs about teaching and learning. Therefore, as cooperative learning is implemented, the *cultural* path has to be recognized and addressed.

There is no longer any doubt regarding the positive social and academic outcomes of cooperative learning (Johnson & Johnson, 1989; Rolheiser-Bennett, 1986; Sharan & Sharan, 1990; Slavin, 1991). If the benefits of cooperative learning are to be realized for all students, however, then we have to mesh teachers individual interests with schoolwide and districtwide support for implementation. If we take seriously the expectation of schoolwide implementation, then we have to respect variations in the way teachers perceive the innovation and embark on a path to sustained use and resulting commitment.

For the schools in this study, ongoing active involvement of district and school administrators proved critical to both initiation and continuation of cooperative learning. Actions at both levels were multifaceted and complementary in timing and focus. In our subsequent work with these districts, this approach has yielded ongoing success and has become an important guideline in the ongoing management of change.

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Implementing Cooperative Learning Groups: The Profile of an Expert Teacher

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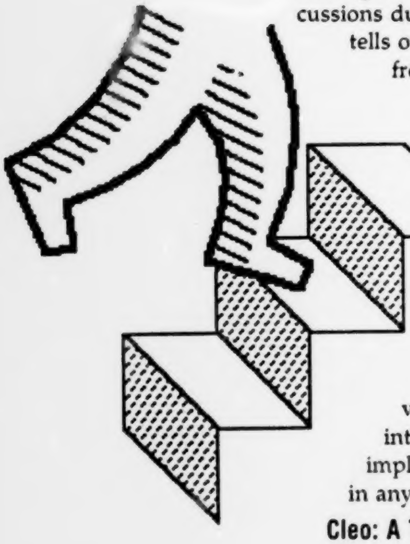
Hundreds of studies have been conducted in the last two decades documenting the effectiveness of cooperative learning groups. These studies provide compelling evidence which suggests that use of this strategy for structuring small group work increases student achievement, improves student attitudes toward school and peers, and increases self-esteem (Johnson, Johnson, Holubec, & Roy, 1986; Johnson, Mauyama, Johnson, Nelson, & Skon, 1981; Slavin, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1990).

Although the positive effects of cooperative learning are widely accepted, we have few qualitative descriptions of what actually occurs in classroom settings where this strategy is implemented. What really happens when an experienced teacher uses cooperative groups to organize student learning? What kind of school setting makes teacher expertise in cooperative learning possible? What does an expert teacher know about her students that enables her to help them become successful group members? How does the teacher get children started with cooperative group work? What does she do and say when problems arise?

Answers to these questions emerged from a study that took a close look at one teacher's implementation of cooperative learning groups. Data for the research were collected from September to mid-December and included teacher and student interviews, field notes from 22 classroom observations, and the audiotaped recordings of students' cooperative group discussions during 16 class sessions. This article tells one of the stories that emerged from this study. It is my purpose to introduce school administrators to Cleo Larsen, an expert teacher, to the professional context that made her expertise possible, and to four students in her fifth-grade, low-achieving math class who struggled to learn to work together. The lessons gleaned from this study will provide school executives with insight into several factors affecting the implementation of cooperative learning in any classroom setting.



Cleo: A Teacher and Her District

When I met Cleo Larsen she was starting her twentieth year of teaching at Nelson Elementary School, a fifth-sixth grade building, in a medium-sized, Midwest district serving a rural and urban population. She was considered a superior teacher not only by her building principal, but also by other district administrators. In fact, it was a building principal other than her own who initially suggested she might be interested in helping me with this research.

In an interview early in the school year Cleo told me she had first heard about cooperative learning groups from her teaching partner, Diana, who had attended an introductory inservice session on the topic a few years earlier. Diana and Cleo had worked together in a departmentalized, fifth-grade setting for several years; they knew one another both as friends and colleagues. Diana used cooperative groups more that first year than Cleo, but Cleo's interest had been piqued; the following summer she decided to attend a three-day, district-sponsored workshop led by David and Roger Johnson of the University of Minnesota. After these sessions, she was excited and ready to learn more. She went to her district's assistant superintendent and requested additional district support. Fortunately, the district's long-term plan for implementing cooperative learning included training one elementary and one secondary teacher to conduct regular staff development workshops for other teachers in the district. Cleo was selected as the elementary teacher who would serve on the staff development team. After spending a year using cooperative groups "kind of hit and miss," the following summer she was sent by the district to train with the Johnsons for a week in New York. When this study began, Cleo had been using cooperative learning for three years and had also been involved as a trainer in her district's K-12 cooperative learning staff development program for two years. She was knowledgeable about the use of cooperative group learning; she also was experienced with and committed to using these groups in her classroom.

Cleo's Beliefs and Goals

Although she was positive about her work as a teacher, Cleo was also realistic. Her knowledge of children and her ideas about learning compelled her to be serious about the challenges she faced as an educator. She believed that student self-esteem is critical in the learning process, and she was adamant that all children can learn. In a September interview, Cleo described the challenge she faced in trying to meet individual student needs.

> I think all children can learn. I firmly believe that. But I also think each child has his own learning style and his own rate of learning. And that presents a real problem in the classroom. . . . Just as we don't expect all fifth graders to come in weighing 95 pounds and being 4 feet 8 inches tall, why should we expect all kids to be at a certain level of their emotional development, their academic development? It's not realistic. And yet, when I'm faced in a classroom with 25 kids, how do I possibly handle all that? . . . I don't ever feel like I'm meeting all the needs of my kids, because it's easier to have everybody doing the same thing at the same time. And sometimes there's a need for that. But, on the other hand, we put a lot of frustration in kids' lives by doing that.
>
> That's why I think cooperative learning is an advantage, because if you're working in a group where you have a child who can't read, if you give them the assignment individually they aren't going to do it. And they aren't going to do it because they can't. They aren't even going to try, because they've already been convinced they can't do it. You put them in a group where someone else is a good reader and can read the assignment, the person who can't read can still hear it, and can still participate in the discussion and can still learn from that.

This altering of roles did not mean she was abdicating her responsibilities or giving up control of the classroom.

Cleo's Concerns: Time Constraints and Expectations

Although she believed in the benefits of cooperative learning and was committed to its use, Cleo admitted that it had taken her "at least a couple of years" until the strategy had become "an automatic part of . . . [her] repertoire," and that it did have some disadvantages. In her view, the primary drawback was that additional time was needed. Having children work in groups took longer than direct instruction; consequently, she found it harder "to get the material covered."

> Well, the most efficient and least expensive way is lecture, you know. Teacher standing up in the front of the room and disseminating information. But you look at the percentage of kids that really learn best that way, that's not that high. . . . You know, our society keeps making more and more demands on education. We now teach sex education and manners in the lunch room. . . . We're bombarded with the need to teach computer. We need to teach foreign language. . . . [I]t's just not realistic.

Although district guidelines had served as suggestions for Cleo's fifth-grade math curriculum, her greatest concern about "covering material" was not related to the district; it was related to the expectations of the sixth-grade teachers. She knew that at least some of next year's teachers would expect that "by the time they [the students] come to us, they should have this and this and this and this." The collegial pressure she felt was clearly a concern for Cleo; she mentioned it several times throughout the study.

Use of cooperative groups also required the teaching of social skills, which took even more time away from "covering content." Despite this fact, Cleo saw skill learning as an indispensable component of cooperative learning.

> You know, if we're talking about developing interpersonal skills, you don't just assume that they're [the students] going to pick them up by looking around the room. If that's the case, they should have all had them a long time ago. You have to take the time to teach the skills.

Time in school is precious. How teachers decide to use it often reflects their beliefs, or those of their district administrators, about teaching and learning and the purpose of school. Even after several years of experience, Cleo struggled to balance the teaching of math content and the "extra" time required to teach the social skills.

Cleo's View: The Teacher's Role

Her conviction that the use of cooperative learning groups was a powerful way to structure children's learning required Cleo to reconsider her role as teacher. This altering of roles did not mean she was abdicating her responsibilities or giving up control of the classroom. Rather, it meant redirecting her authority in order to facilitate the children's academic and social processing.

> If they [teachers] just do bits and pieces of cooperative learning, they don't understand all of the aspects of it. And there's a lot. The teacher's very much involved. You may not think that, you know, when you walk in and you see me standing around. It's kind of like, "Well, you don't have anything to do." But, on the other hand, it's not a time to go back and write up a lesson plan or correct papers or write a note to a parent. You've got to be involved with what those groups are doing. Simply because it helps you go on then to the next day.

In her role as a cooperative learning teacher, Cleo was not the central focus of the activities in her room. She was, however, a manager, a director, an observer, and a guide. Using cooperative groups required her to decide who should work with whom, what social skills the children needed to learn next so they could make their groups work more cooperatively, when to help, and when to let children help themselves. Use of cooperative groups required her to move in and out of the children's learning and, above all, to relinquish some of her control so that they could learn to solve their own problems.

Cleo's Way of Getting Started

Student interviews confirmed Cleo's view that only a few of the children had previous group experiences. Although some students had occasionally been given class assignments to do in pairs or threes, there was no evidence that any of these fifth-graders were experienced in working with ongoing groups, or that the group tasks they had done included the use of any cooperative group skills.

Cleo introduced her math students to cooperative learning groups the second day of school and explained that she would be expecting them to learn both how to do math and how to cooperate as they worked together. Her explanation included the importance of getting along with others in the adult work world.

During the first weeks, Cleo frequently assigned review tasks, often in the form of worksheets requiring low-level computational skills. The students worked in pairs and threesomes when completing these review tasks. By teacher design, students seldom worked with the same person or persons for more than two or three days. The first weeks of school were devoted to setting up class routines, reviewing math computations and concepts, getting to know the students, and providing low-risk, cooperative activities that taught the students that learning in groups can be fun.

By the beginning of October, Cleo decided that the children were ready to start working in groups of four. She carefully utilized what she knew about her students' math abilities and about their social skills, and she assigned them to groups in which they knew they would be working for an extended period of time. To one of these groups she assigned Michelle and Kathy, two mathematically able students, and Toni and Jonathan, two children who found math difficult.

Cleo's Students' First Attempts at Learning Together

Cleo began one of the first lessons for the new foursomes by reviewing four rules the children were to use when working in their groups:

1. Use quiet voices.
2. Be responsible for your own behavior.
3. If somebody asks a question you have to help them.
4. The teacher can be asked for help only if no group member can help.

The math task for the day was: Agree on combinations needed to get the following sums of money--$5.00, $2.74, and $4.65. With the class's help, Cleo modelled one solution to the problem on the overhead and then directed the children to begin.

The group which included Michelle, Kathy, Toni, and Jonathan got off to a rocky start. Michelle's goal was to get the group to run efficiently. And, as is often the case with people who are inexperienced in group work (Cohen, 1986), she began controlling the action and dominating the group's answers. Michelle ably assumed the "traditional teacher" role. Kathy interjected a word or two now and then, but she remained generally uninvolved. Jonathan worked to keep up with Michelle's directives and her answers; Toni encouraged group "agreement."

Michelle: Five hundred pennies. Put five hundred pennies down.
Toni: Five hundred? (in a confused tone. She continues to talk as she writes.) . . . hundred . . .
Michelle: (in an attempt to "catch Kathy up") Kathy, put ten half dollars.
Toni: (finishing her writing) hundred . . . pennies. But she has to agree.
Michelle. (again guiding Kathy's work) And five one dollars.
Jonathan: Five one dollars?
Toni: But she has to agree, you guys.
Jonathan: Five . . . (talking as he writes)
Toni: (to Kathy) Do you agree?
Kathy: (No response.)
Michelle: If she doesn't, then it's her own tough luck.
Toni: Well, we still have to wait for her.
Michelle: And five hundred pennies. (She prompts Kathy on the third answer.) What else do you say?

In this portion of the discussion, there is little evidence that the children understood what it means to cooperate. They did not explain how they were getting answers nor did they share the decision making. Kathy remained quiet and relatively uninvolved. She was, however, listening and writing down a few answers.

About 10 minutes into the worktime, Kathy responded to the others' coaxing and offered a suggestion. She did so haltingly and without much confidence. "It'd be fifty cents, [and] two twenty-five cents. That'd be a dollar. So I'm saying that twice and then three more dollars." Her suggestion was a correct one, but because her explanation was unclear her groupmates did not immediately respond. Instead, Michelle misinterpreted Kathy's suggestion and replied, "So that's eight quarters." Michelle then directed the group to write down, "Eight quarters and three one dollars." Frustrated that her idea was not being accepted, Kathy announced that she was quitting. Loudly she explained, "Eight quarters and three dollars is not my idea!"

Although she was not directly involved in most of their discussions, Cleo knew what was happening with the groups.

Cleo Teaches Skills

While the groups worked, Cleo had been monitoring the children's work, observing student behaviors, and helping when everyone in the group did not understand. Although none of the groups, including the foursome described above, had completed the task, Cleo flicked the lights and stopped the class 10 minutes before the end of the period. After explaining that she knew she was interrupting their work prematurely, she continued:

Cleo: Now that you've had some time to work in groups of four, I'd like to talk a bit about how it's going. Are groups of four easier or harder than groups of two?
Krista: Easier. We have more heads.
Cleo: Your groups came up with 50 combinations, didn't they, Sonya?
Sonya: I think it's better with two, because you don't disagree so much.
Cleo: Jonathan.
Jonathan: I think it's a little bit hard [with four]. Some people agree. Some might not. It takes longer to agree.
Cleo: What do you mean by agree?
Jonathan: You need to show how an answer is right or wrong.
Cleo: As I go around and watch, I'd say that three of the five groups are working very well and that everyone in the group is participating equally. Could you make some recommendations for the two groups that are having problems? What can they do to get everyone involved, Ben?

As the skill lesson continued, children suggested such things as "call them by name," "say what's your idea," and "ask why aren't you saying anything." Cleo praised these responses and finished the lesson with a brief statement about how non-participants hurt not only themselves but all the people in the group.

Although she was not directly involved in most of their discussions, Cleo knew what was happening with the groups. She set this lesson by focusing students on both the use of social skills and on the task of solving a non-routine problem. She also modelled one solution to the math task, provided feedback about group problems she observed, invited students to identify specific ways they might help each other become more cooperative, and explained why non-involvement was a poor group choice.

Cleo's Students Face Another Conflict

The importance placed on cooperation in this classroom, as well as the benefits of processing group skills and providing feedback, were evidenced a week later when the students were given a task that came to be known as the "ice cream assignment." Students received six paper circles representing scoops of six different flavors of ice cream; they also received a cut-out of an ice cream cone. They were to use these manipulatives to help them solve this problem: Using six flavors of ice cream, find as many two-flavor combinations as possible; do the same given 12 ice cream flavors. Once again, she asked them to use these group skills:

1. Use quiet voices.
2. Be responsible for your own behavior.
3. If someone in the group asks for help, give it to them.
4. Ask the teacher a question only if no one in the group can answer it.

While conceptually this math task is a complex one, all groups found some way to get started. Michelle, Kathy, Toni, and Jonathan were assigned six original flavors which included Banana, Vanilla, Blueberry, Rainbow Sherbet, Reese's Peanut Butter, and Hot Fudge. By putting the ice cream cone cut-out and a scoop of one flavor in the center of their desks, they devised a system that kept one flavor constant while adding the others one at a time.

They began the task as follows:

Michelle: Are we just going to write it down like Banana-Vanilla . . .
Toni: Uh, huh (affirmative).
Michelle: Wait. I have a plan, how we could do it. O.K., keep Banana-Vanilla. And then put Blueberry . . .
Toni: No. Let's get all the combinations we can do and then it won't be so difficult.
Kathy: No. Let's get all the combinations . . .
Toni: O.K. Like this.
Kathy: Ya, Banana-Vanilla.
Toni: Hey! Oh, never mind. Banana.
Michelle: O.K.
Toni: Wait a sec! Va-nil-la. O.K.
Michelle: I'm going to take this over here, and then put Blueberry.
Toni: Oooooh! (she giggles at the thought of a Banana-Blueberry combination).
Michelle: Banana and Blueberry. (pauses while writing) O.K., then we take Blueberry off and take Rainbow Sherbet . . .
Toni: Banana and Rainbow . . . Can I borrow somebody's eraser? Thank you (to Kathy as she grabs the pencil out of her hand).
Kathy: I'm not done writing yet.
Toni: O.K.
Kathy: Here. Use this. (She offers Toni another eraser.)
Toni: Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Rain-bow . . . Sherbet.
Michelle: O.K., then take Banana and Reese's.
Toni: O.K., number four is Banana and . . .
Kathy: And then you take Banana and Hot Fudge.
Michelle: Wait. We're not done yet, Kathy.

As in the previous session, Michelle again took a leadership role. This time, however, she was able to lead by showing and explaining rather than by bossing. Likewise, Kathy and Toni clearly understood and accepted Michelle's suggested plan. Although Jonathan was not saying much, he was writing down answers and attending to the group's work. Each of the children was clearly more cognizant of others' needs and understandings than they had been before; they shared control over both their actions and their answers. In a relatively short time, they were successful in finding the correct answer of 15 combinations. They all raised their hands, and Cleo came to their desks to give them six more flavors of ice cream.

Cleo: This is a whole new problem now. . . . Think about how you're going to do this.
Michelle: Oh, I know. We could . . .
Cleo: The rules still stay the same. You're going to combine two different kinds of ice cream . . . (she observes for a bit, and then walks away).
Jonathan: I know. I know.
Michelle: Have these on the bottom and have these . . .
Jonathan: Yo! And then this . . .
Toni: Wait, wait, Jon. What?
Jonathan: Just go like this.
Michelle: No, 'cuz we want all of them together. Oh, I know [understand] now. I thought you were going like this . . .
Toni: Ya. Oh, O.K.
Jonathan: No, like this.
Toni: O.K. I guess I see how you did it. O.K. Wait, take . . .
Kathy: Ya, but then when you put these together, too . . .
Toni: O.K., put these down here like this.
Michelle: Vanilla.
Toni: O.K., take this on the bottom and then take Vanilla like that.
Kathy: No, when we get done with those we need to do these.
Toni: Yes, and then we take all these with this and then we get rid of this completely. And then we take this which is everything.
Michelle: You guys, we have to hurry up.
Toni: Ya, I know.
Jonathan: Now you got me mixed up.
Toni: Just watch.
Michelle: Just watch. Just put flavors on the cone. O.K.?

The children successfully worked their way through a difficult transition as they moved from working with six flavors of ice cream to 12. They began by creating combinations with one of their new flavors, Pigs-in-Mud, and then they moved to Rocky Road as "the main one." After recording these combinations, however, Michelle began her next set of combinations with Cookies and Creme; the rest of the group began combinations with Praline Pecan, otherwise known as "Pecan Junk" because no one in the group knew how to pronounce praline. In the confusion, Michelle inadvertently moved the Praline Pecan cut-out before Kathy had finished copying a final combination onto her paper.

Toni: O.K., now we're on [Cookies and Creme].
Michelle: I already did that.
Toni: So did I. Did you do this one [Praline Pecan]?
Michelle: No, I did this one.
Jonathan: It's Pecan Junk.
Michelle: No, you guys, you're doing it wrong.
Toni: We already did that [Praline Pecan].
Kathy: (with exasperation) I was spelling it!
Michelle: I hadn't got it, Kathy.

Disgusted that Michelle had taken the cut-out away too soon, Kathy crumpled up her math paper and tossed it toward the center of their desks. Jonathan playfully picked it up and tossed it back at her. Each took another volley; Toni giggled nervously and reprimanded them.

Toni: You guys.
Michelle: We're on it [Praline Pecan] now. Gol.
Toni: Oh, you guys (more nervous giggles). Ooh.
Kathy: We're not doing this (referring to the assignment).
Toni: Well, don't get all upset. Here, you guys. O.K.

Kathy's dramatic decision to drop out of the group, and the related paper toss, which all the children knew was unacceptable classroom behavior, made everyone uncomfortable. Toni pleaded with her groupmates to control their behavior, but they paid little attention to her. After the third volley, Kathy tossed the paper over Jonathan's head, and it landed on the floor three feet behind his desk. Michelle joined Toni in attempting to refocus the group's attention to the task. Ignoring the girls' redirection, Jon left his desk, picked up the paper wad, and tossed it back to Kathy. Kathy returned the volley once again, and this time Michelle retrieved the paper and walked over to the basket to throw it away.

After Michelle returned to her desk, she and Jonathan and Toni attempted to return to the assignment. They realized, however, that the rule requiring participation by everyone meant that Kathy also had to be involved. When they invited her to participate, Kathy angrily replied, "Why should I? 'Cuz all you do is throw it at me." Unwilling to continue without her, Jonathan volunteered to get the paper. He walked to the basket, fished out Kathy's wadded-up assignment, and returned to the group. Gently, he placed the crumpled paper in front of Kathy and carefully unfolded it. Kathy seemed to find this unexpected act of kindness a pleasant surprise. Her face softened, but as Toni and Michelle eagerly tried to get back on task, she balked and resumed her pout.

Frustrated that Kathy was not responding and that time was passing, Jon picked up the tape recorder that was sitting in the middle of their desks. He pretended to iron Kathy's paper, dragging the recorder slowly over the top, and making low, flat, "ironing" noises. Kathy could no longer retain her scowl; she giggled and began to smile. Realizing his success at dispelling the group tension and at luring Kathy back into the group, Jonathan concluded his performance using an exaggerated "cowboy" dialect.

Jonathan: I'm flattenin' it out for ya. Now, there! It's not as perty as mine, but it's all flatten'd out.
Kathy: Perty?
Jonathan: Yup. Perty. [Now] Pigs-in-Mud and Reeses.
Kathy: Pigs-in-Mud? We're not finished with World Class Chocolate.
Toni: Ya, we are.
Jonathan: Oh, yes we are.
Kathy: Well, I'm not.
Michelle: Well, it's not my fault!
Toni: (to Kathy) You were throwing junk all over the place.
Michelle: Hitting him in the head with the paper.
Kathy: (to Michelle) Ya, but you took . . . I was on this one. But, no. Michelle had to take it away from me!
Jonathan: Oh, blame it on Michelle.
Michelle: It was on here.
Kathy: But it was there. Nobody was using it.
Jonathan: Yes, we were. I was.

Michelle: O.K., you guys, just be quiet. I don't care who was using it [Praline Pecan] and who wasn't.
Jonathan: (to Kathy) Just write. Let's wait for her.
Michelle: Blueberry.
Jonathan: No, we're gonna wait. Wait for her.
Michelle: Then we're going to have to wait for a half hour.
Toni: (to Michelle) Oh, no [we're not going to wait for a half hour]. (to Kathy) O.K., come on.
Jonathan: (to Kathy) Get writing.
Michelle: We're waiting.
Kathy: I'm not done with it.
Jonathan: I know! We're gonna wait for you. We're waiting for you.
Toni: (with authority) Do it!

Everyone paused while Kathy wrote. They reviewed the combinations they had all written, and checked each other's work to be sure everyone was in the same place. When the session ended a few minutes later, they had not finished finding a solution for the number of two-flavor combinations possible given 12 flavors of ice cream. They had, however, successfully found a way to transition from using six flavors to using 12. They had also learned that it was possible to get along and to work out their disagreement.

They had also learned that it was possible to get along and to work out their disagreement.

Cleo Reflects on Student Lessons

Cleo was aware of what had happened in Kathy's group. In another interview, she shared why she had made the decision to stay away.

> Years ago, if that would have happened, I would have been over there immediately, and I would either have removed Kathy from the group or I would have broken the group up and had them work with other people. . . . I firmly believe this now, you're not doing kids a service when you do that. . . . If Kathy was getting physically violent or, you know, if they were physically battling, then I would have to interfere. But when it's verbal, she's got to learn some day how to interact with other people in an appropriate way. And if you keep removing her from the situation, she's never going to have that opportunity. . . . The other three are going to someday come in contact with somebody that's not a pleasant person to work with, and they may not be able to walk away from that situation. If you're at a job and you're assigned to work at a department with someone who is disagreeable, you can't go running to your boss to complain all the time. You have to at least make an attempt, and I think that these kids will have a better chance of handling that kind of situation, because they're doing that now. . . .
>
> You know, we've [teachers] kind of been led to believe we're the problem solvers, and we're the ones that run everything and keep it all smoothly going. I guess I'm saying, "Turn the problem back over to the kids first." Sometimes they'll succeed; sometimes they won't. But they aren't ever going to, if they aren't given a chance. It also builds some self-confidence when they know, "Gee, that was rough. Gee, we finally got Kathy to do it." You know, they really feel good.

The Children's Perspectives on Cooperative Learning

In early December, after they had experience working in several different groups, I asked Toni and Michelle in separate interviews which of the groups they had worked in so far was the most cooperative. Toni did not hesitate:

> I think this one [with Kathy, Michelle, and Jonathan] was the best. It had more people in it, but . . . Well, see, sometimes Kathy was, well, she might get upset about something, and we'd help her out on something she didn't understand.

Michelle chose a different "most cooperative" group, one with just two people. She explained:

> Because when there's a lot more [people], it doesn't get done as fast and there's a lot more thinking and everything and they all think something different usually. And if it's just one person that's working with you, you usually work it out together instead of going through three people.

She was also very insightful when I asked her to talk about the things that she did well and the things that were hard for her in cooperative group work. In response to what things she did well in groups, she replied:

> Well, I try to, like with Kathy, make her participate. And I would try not to yell or get mad or something like that. And make her feel that you don't like her or anything. I would try to make them feel good and not be left out. . . . What's hard to me is when sometimes you get all upset or something, and when somebody keeps saying, "It's not right, it's not right," and you know it is. And they won't let you say what you want to say or anything. And they won't let you show it. And sometimes I get frustrated. And I'll have to work on that better . . . and not get so mad as I sometimes do.

Lessons From This Classroom

Although it is impossible to generalize the results of a study on the use of cooperative learning in one classroom, there are some important lessons to be learned from this teacher's successes.

First, Cleo Larsen developed her expertise in the use of cooperative learning strategies over a number of years. This was in large part due to her district's view that staff development efforts must be focused and long-term. Relatedly, Cleo's district administrators supported their teachers by providing professional inservice opportunities with experts like David and Roger Johnson, and by providing regular, in-district meetings led by well-trained, local teachers. These district arrangements made it possible for Cleo, her teaching partner Diana, and other district teachers to support one another, to learn together, and to improve their use of cooperative learning strategies over time.

Second, Cleo's success with these fifth-graders was clearly related to the fact that she took time to teach group skills. In her classroom both academic goals (getting it done and getting it right) and social goals (how the group worked together) were valued. Cleo was fortunate to work for administrators who provided a flexible curricular structure that allowed her to balance both social and academic priorities to make the instructional decisions she believed were best for her students. Cleo's district afforded her a kind of professional respect that she, in turn, was able to extend to her students. Making decisions was something both teachers and students were empowered to do.

And last, the instructional decisions Cleo made—what math tasks to assign, what skills to teach, how to introduce cooperative structures to her students, when to intervene, and when to stay away—reflected more than just the training she had received in cooperative learning. Cleo was a thinking professional whose classroom decisions reflected her beliefs about learning. She believed that children learn by actively making sense of the information they are given, and she believed that her role as a teacher was to create situations and provide structures that would help children to reconstruct old knowledge into new understanding. Cleo knew that using cooperative learning groups would help her to implement these beliefs.

Although it is clear from this study and from many others that the use of cooperative groups is an effective way to organize learning, it must be recognized that this instructional strategy is a tool. Ultimately, it is the knowledgeable teacher who orchestrates an effective classroom. While the success in this story belongs in part to cooperative learning, it belongs mostly to Cleo, her students, and the educational leaders who allowed and encouraged their teachers to continue to learn, to act as professionals, and to put their educational beliefs into practice.

Afternote: Several months after the data for this study were collected, Cleo told me that Kathy was doing especially well during cooperative group sessions. She invited me to come to her classroom again so I could see the changes for myself.

I chose to visit again at math time, and when I entered the classroom I saw children who looked taller and slightly older than the group I had left late in the fall. A few students gave me nods of recognition and welcome as my eyes wandered around the room looking to see who was working with whom. I found Kathy sitting by the windows, working in a group with three others. All heads were bent toward the paper that was in the center of their desks. Kathy was involved. In fact, she was in a leadership role. With pencil in hand, she jotted something on the paper. "Do you get it?" I overheard her patiently ask. "Do you get it now?" The effective use of cooperative groups continued.

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Dr. Patricia Scanlan is an assistant professor at the University of Wisconsin—La Crosse (La Crosse, Wisconsin) where she teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in literacy education. Her dissertation, which was completed at The University of Iowa in 1988 and which is the basis for this article, is titled "Patterns of Student Talk in Cooperative Learning Groups." Currently her research interests include cooperative learning, literacy and learning in teacher education, and the facilitation of teacher change through whole language.

Support Groups and Coaching—Part of the Key to Change

Larry K. Shiley
High School Principal
Fort Madison, Iowa

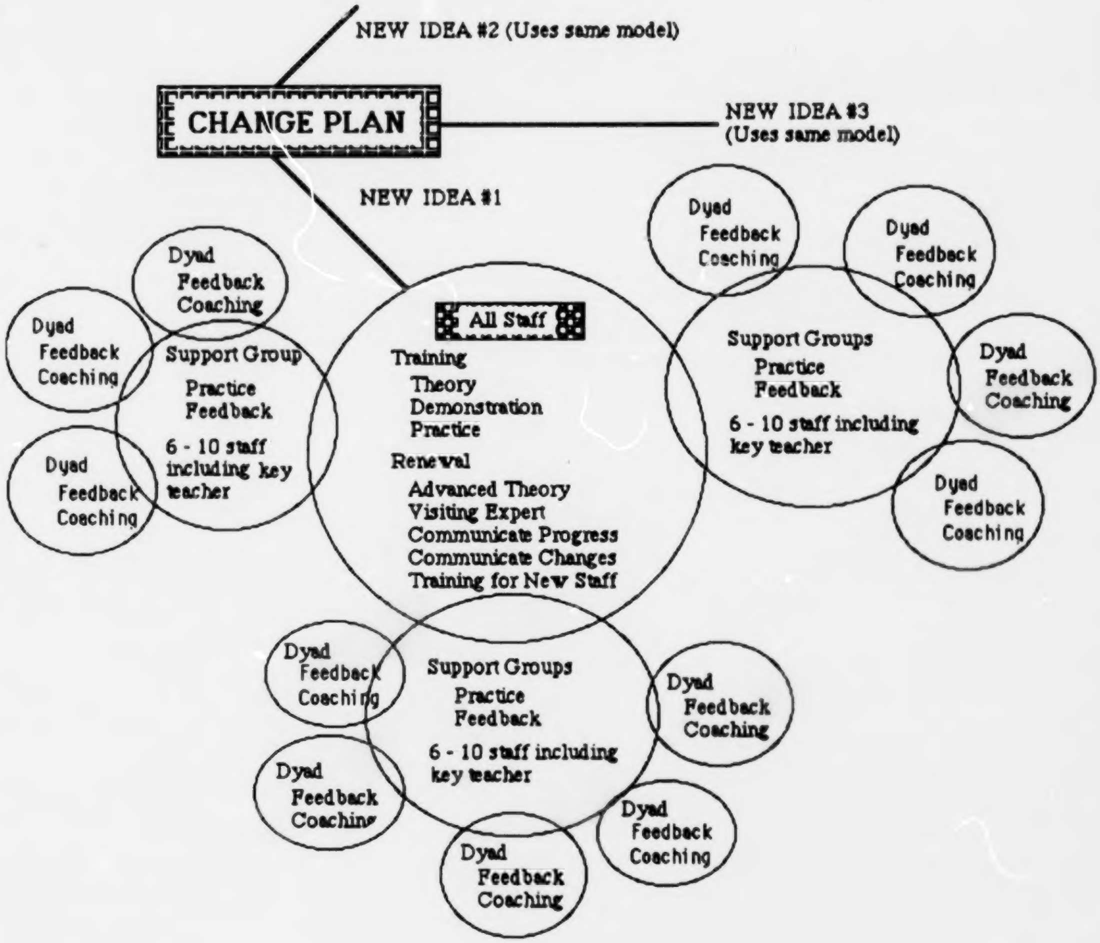
Educators are now—and I suspect always have been—pursuing ways to make education better. Those efforts have had many labels, but they have all had one thing in common. They were "CHANGE EFFORTS."

If the reasons for trying to change are varied, so are the rates of success. In fact, it has not been unusual for the same new idea to be a success at one school and a failure at another. Most frequently, these failures occurred because the new idea was not a well-planned change effort and was not supported properly.

This article is about a portion of the change effort—support and support groups. It presumes that the school has gone through the process of planning for change, that general consensus has been reached on things like "vision," "mission," and "team building," and that a new idea is ready for staff implementation.

Implementation is done best by using a five-step paradigm—1) involving staff in theory, 2) demonstration, 3) practice, 4) feedback, and 5) coaching. Support groups and coaching are an integral part of this paradigm because they can provide a way to move the staff through the last three crucial steps of practice, feedback, and coaching (see Figure 1).

Figure 1


NEW IDEA #2 (Uses same model)
CHANGE PLAN
NEW IDEA #3 (Uses same model)
NEW IDEA #1
All Staff
Training
Theory
Demonstration
Practice
Renewal
Advanced Theory
Visiting Expert
Communicate Progress
Communicate Changes
Training for New Staff
Support Group
Practice
Feedback
6 - 10 staff including key teacher
Support Groups
Practice
Feedback
6 - 10 staff including key teacher
Support Groups
Practice
Feedback
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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The ideal change effort will initially involve training for staff by an outside expert. Key staff members trained by the outside expert will be using the new idea prior to the all-staff training. Please note that the staff moves through the staff development paradigm, from theory to coaching, in smaller and smaller groups until, at the coaching level, dyads or triads are used.

The backbone of this paradigm is found at the level of support group and coaching. It is here that individual staff members working with their peers will begin to understand the personal significance of the new idea.

It is important to recognize that peer group consensus is a major influence on the acceptance of or willingness to change.

The support groups need to be in place to cause things to happen. It is important to recognize that peer group consensus is a major influence on the acceptance of or willingness to change.

At the total-staff level, theory, demonstration, and practice are relatively easy to accomplish. The group will be under the control of one presenter. That person will introduce the theory and provide for demonstration and practice. When the staff moves to the support-group stage and into the third stage of using dyads or triads for coaching, steps should be taken to help the groups function effectively. Consequently, following a prescribed support-group meeting method is recommended. The groups will need training in order to run the support group properly. The support group should be viewed by the teachers as a useful vehicle for professional growth. To avoid "runaway" sessions and to keep the meeting on task, a systematized format for the support-group meeting is essential. The key teachers are the support-group facilitators. In addition to providing their expertise on the new idea, the key teachers conduct the support group using the following group roles and meeting format:

> The facilitator (key teacher) conducts the business of the meeting. This role may rotate among the members of the support group as they become familiar with the new idea. The facilitator is responsible for starting and adjourning the meeting at the appointed times, for facilitating the development of the meeting agenda, and for generally keeping the meeting on task.
>
> A group recorder is responsible for keeping a "group memory" of the proceedings of the meeting. Unlike the "minutes" of a meeting, the group memory is taken on large sheets of newsprint or the like. It is written with a large marker so that all are able to view the "memory" as it is being written. The group recorder simply writes, in note form, what is said or discussed at the meeting. If any group member objects to anything being recorded in the group memory, it is simply changed at the time it is observed. The newsprint notes are brought to the next meeting and displayed for all to see.
>
> As in the case of the facilitator, this role may rotate among the members of the support group or may be held by one person for a period of time.
>
> The meeting format is simple and includes four basic activities:
> 1. Development of the agenda
> 2. Review and feedback about the last meeting
> 3. Problem solving
> 4. Closure

Development of the Agenda

Once the meeting has been called to order, the facilitator requests agenda items from the members of the support group. These items are usually in the form of some problem being faced by a teacher in the classroom.

The teacher providing the agenda item also states the amount of time he or she believes the item will consume, i.e., "I've been using 'contracting' with my slower students, and I have one student who never completes a learning contract. I think I need about 20 minutes to discuss this and get some ideas from you."

The group recorder lists the possible agenda items as stated, in note form, with the amount of time requested, i.e., "Student doesn't complete learning contract—20 min." After all items and times have been posted on the group memory, the facilitator asks the group to prioritize the proposed items to determine which item or items will be discussed at this meeting. This process of agenda development allows each member of the group to have an opportunity to have his or her problem "heard" and helps to build investments in the agenda. Developing the agenda should take no more than five minutes.

Review and Feedback

The facilitator draws the group's attention to the group memory from the previous meeting. The teacher (or teachers) who was the subject of the previous meeting's problem-solving activity reviews what actions he or she took to remedy the problem and what progress has been made. The teacher may seek additional feedback from the group at this time. If, however, the teacher feels that he or she has made no progress toward solving the problem since the last meeting of the support group, a request to be placed on the agenda would have been in order during the "agenda development" part of the meeting. This "review and feedback" portion of the meeting should take no more than 15 minutes.

Problem Solving

The facilitator calls upon the teacher representing the first prioritized item on the agenda to state his or her problem as briefly as possible. Other teachers in the group may ask questions in order to clarify the problem or situation but are not to give any advice or state any judgments at this time.

The facilitator now asks the group, "What have you tried that has worked for you in a similar situation?" Group members share their techniques and ideas with the group. Again, no judgments are made or advice given. Once the group members have all had an opportunity to share their experiences, the facilitator asks if anyone has anything else to add that might be useful to the teacher. Again, remember the rules—"No judgment or advice!"

Closure

Following the problem-solving discussion, the facilitator asks the teacher who presented the problem what techniques or ideas he or she might try. For example, "The group has shared some techniques and ideas that have worked for them. Perhaps some of these ideas might work for you. What do you think you might try doing?" The facilitator allows the teacher to make his or her own conclusions regarding the actions he or she will take. The facilitator reminds the teacher that the group will expect a progress report at the next meeting.

The facilitator asks if anyone has anything to add to the group memory. If so, it is added and the support-group meeting is adjourned.

In most instances, the group may only have time to discuss one, or perhaps two, problem-solving issues during a single meeting.

It is important, however, that the meeting not run beyond the appointed time for adjournment. It is important to note that administrators are key players in contributing to the success of support groups. It is their responsibility to make known to the staff how importantly they view the support groups. Some of the ways by which they can express this view include scheduling the support-group meeting, holding the meeting time inviolate, not interfering with the agenda, making occasional appearances at the meetings, and announcing availability to provide input at a support-group meeting when asked to do so.

The assignment of individuals to a support group will be dictated by the nature of the new idea. Some things will be suited to a fruit basket arrangement with people from all levels and/or departments in each support group. Other new ideas may be specific to a level, i.e., elementary, secondary, or subject area. However the assignments are determined, it will take from three to eight meetings for group members to become comfortable with and supportive of one another. Once the facilitator determines that the group members have confidence in one another, it is time to have the group divide into dyads. The express purpose for each dyad will be coaching. Here, I am speaking of coaching at its simplest level. Each member of the dyad will visit the other person's classroom after having had a conference with that person. At the conference, the person to be visited indicates what the observer will see and how classroom observations should be recorded. Caution: all participants need to be aware that verbal feedback, after an observation, that goes beyond what is being asked can easily endanger the trust relationship in a coaching dyad.

As a staff works its way through the new idea, it will be necessary to bring all the groups together periodically for renewal (sharing and refocusing). The length of this entire effort will be contingent upon the complexity of the idea and the goals established in the change plan.

Change is a complex process. Teacher-to-teacher collaboration allows those involved to work through the philosophical and technical concerns that develop as they try to implement the new idea. Leadership is needed to provide the necessary time and structure for the success of these support groups.

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Larry Shiley is principal at an 800 student high school in Fort Madison, Iowa. He has been a secondary principal for over 20 years. In addition to the many details which are involved in a principal's job, he is interested in the change process and the managing of change so that it becomes a cooperative, collegial process for the staff.

Three Exemplary Lessons Using Cooperative Learning Techniques

Editor's Note: Cooperative learning is one approach to teaching, not the only approach. Cooperative learning techniques may be used in part of a lesson, they do not have to be used for the whole lesson. At the beginning of the year and as teachers first experiment with cooperative learning, they should simply ease into it. Early lessons will reflect some of the cooperative learning techniques, but not all of the key attributes (structured student-to-student interaction, positive interdependence, individual accountability, and the development of working together and peer tutoring skills). The use of cooperative learning has to be incremental in approach. Students must learn mini-procedures (how to get in and out of groups, what is expected of specific roles such as checker or encourager, how to help someone who doesn't understand, etc.). If you jump in too fast, lessons will falter under the weight of teacher explanation, superficial student understanding, too much emphasis on procedure, and little learning or enjoyment.

The following lessons demonstrate successful use of cooperative learning techniques at an appropriate developmental level for the students and take into account the students' familiarity with cooperative learning procedures and expectations. The lessons are consistent with the philosophy and theory associated with cooperative learning. As you read, listen to the teacher's enthusiasm and understanding of cooperative learning. Each lesson may contain only selected techniques associated with cooperative learning; they may not meet all criteria for a cooperative learning lesson. This is appropriate because the use of cooperative learning should be a developmental process for both the teacher and the students.

Interview and Share

Marilyn Marshall
Kindergarten
Sperry, Iowa

Background

I was amazed to find how cooperative learning could be successfully implemented at all age levels. What a relief to know I had this extra instrument of motivation. I began by putting the children into teams of two. I assigned the pairs to ensure that students could function as successfully as possible. One student in each pair was designated as a T, the other as an M (this will lead to groups of four designated as T,E,A,M). Two basic rules were introduced:

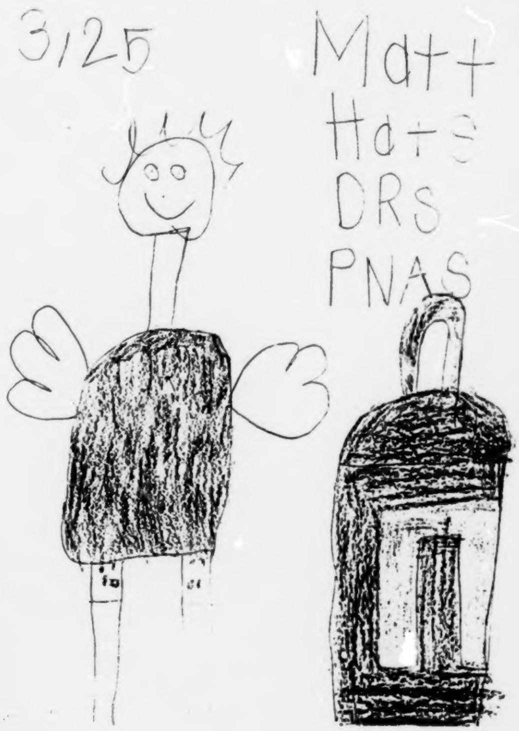
1. Everyone gets a turn.
2. Everyone listens.

One of the first cooperative learning activities that I introduced was 20 questions. I used a picture transparency on the overhead allowing only a small portion of the picture to be seen. The students had to guess what was under the covered part of the picture. They could ask me questions that could be answered only yes or no. We set a class goal of following our rules. All were happy when they were able to guess the covered part of the picture. Learning to ask questions is a big step for a five-year-old.

A Team-Building Activity

After playing 20 questions, we tried another activity. I explained to my class they would be learning more about each other. I had them quickly get into their teams of two, telling each to find out one interesting thing that his or her partner liked. This approach was leading into the content objective of working with opposites: likes and dislikes. The T's were to report for each team. We had to talk about the responsibility of reporting and what the word meant. After the T's reported, I discussed "dislikes" and the meaning of that word. This time the M's would be reporting. After the dislikes were shared, each student wrote a "story" for the day, an established daily activity. They wrote about the likes and dislikes that their partner had shared with them. Later they read their stories to the class. This really excited the kids because someone had written a story about them. What a builder of self-esteem!

Kristen wrote a story telling how her partner Matt hates dress pants.



Editor's Note: This lesson demonstrates a number of basic principles in using cooperative learning:

- Use teacher assigned groups.
- Pairs are recommended, especially initially, for the primary grades.
- Start by spending time on fun activities and on team builders (try to capture rather than coerce student cooperation).
- Introduce and teach roles (reporter), label the role and take time to clearly model what is expected, use the specific technique or role several times to help students master it. As Loch Ross, a kindergarten teacher in Cedar Rapids once told me, "You want your class to proceed as if they're on 'automatic pilot.'"
- As you teach procedures and roles, try to use familiar activities (story writing) so that you don't introduce too many new variables at once.
- Try to use activities where students will have a high success rate, especially low-ability students.
- One of the goals of cooperative learning is for students to learn about each other. Love and respect are based on knowledge. The more you get to know someone, the more empathy and understanding you will probably have for them.

Placing Technological Changes on a Time Line

Jeanne Jones
Sixth Grade
Iowa City, Iowa

Background

As I read various articles and heard people present ideas about cooperative learning, I began to consider applying these ideas in my own classroom. I had approached the use of cooperative learning with a healthy amount of skepticism. I had taught too many years to believe in every new trend that presents itself. It seemed that students would naturally develop adequate social skills just by working in groups. It just couldn't be that mystical!

Frustrated with the way my groups were functioning, I decided to take a more direct approach to the teaching of collaborative skills. I identified specific behaviors I wanted my students to exhibit when working in groups. I continually reminded myself of the need to keep it simple and not expect too much too fast. The teaching of social skills with subsequent processing of those skills became an integral part of my lessons.

The following lesson is evidence of the value of persisting with cooperative learning techniques. It portrays what can result when students are guided to practice logical reasoning, attempt to resolve disagreements, and ultimately reach consensus.

Time Line Activity

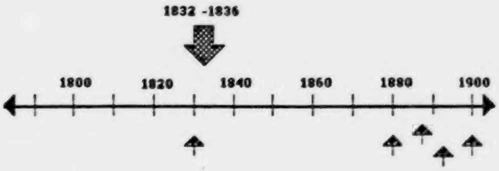
As part of a larger unit on technology, each group of four had been assigned a different time period from the past 200 years. They were to research their time period, make a list of technological changes introduced during that time period, and create a skit as a vehicle to present their information.

When a group presented its skit, the members did not reveal the time period directly. The other groups had the task of determining what era had been represented by the skit. Each of the groups watching the skit would confer and try to reach agreement on the era being presented. A representative from each group would place a small colored arrow under the time line to represent the speculation of the group. Finally, the group that presented would place a large arrow above the time line to indicate the actual era. The logic and important facts involved would then be discussed.

After one presentation, which had included the fact that the camera had been introduced in the era, I monitored one group as it tried to reach consensus. The four students focused intently on the large time line stretched across the front of the classroom. They debated what era had been presented. They were aware that most other groups were speculating that the era was in the latter part of the 1800s. The fact that their perspective differed was an obvious source of anxiety for them.

"It's impossible! They can't be right," protested Eli.

Ann glanced over her shoulder concerned about the group behind her. They had obviously reached consensus. She seemed to be wondering why she always found herself in a group that enjoys controversy. Her body language gradually softened as she leaned toward Eli who was justifying his view in a rather animated fashion. His defense really seemed to be convincing the group. He was logically supporting his view with facts from the research his group had collected. His claim was that photographs of President Lincoln existed from the 1860s. He used the group's notes to back his claim. Since the camera was invented during the time period depicted in the skit it had to have been in use before Lincoln was president. The late 1800s, which most other groups were hypothesizing, was impossible. Now his partners were interested! They were beginning to nod enthusiastically. Jeff noticed another bit of information that would help support their view. The others posed a few more questions to Eli, but it was obvious the tone of the group was shifting from anxious to confident. When the time came for them to declare their decision, Eli approached the time line with assurance and proudly placed their arrow at 1830.

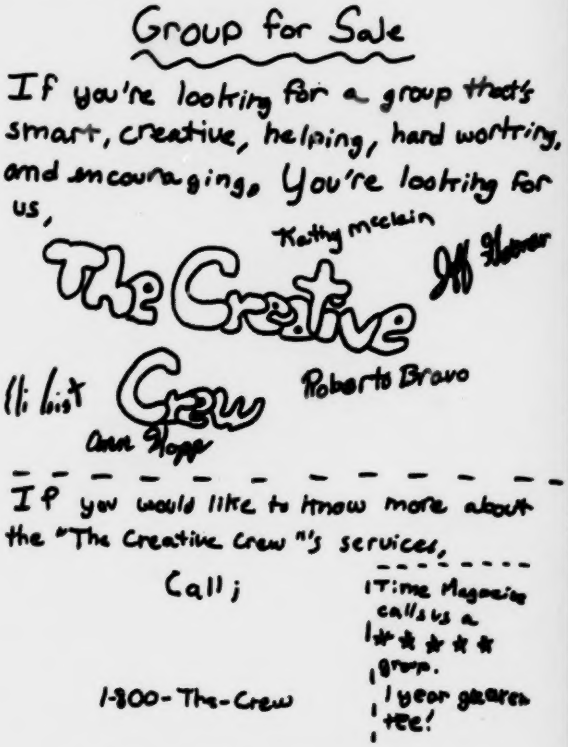


The era depicted in the skit had been 1832-1836. Success!

I had decided that evidence of success would be seeing groups function without a conscious awareness of these social skills. Students would question each other, ask for clarification, listen to each other, introduce controversy, and capitalize on that controversy to solve their task. Ideally all of this would occur with little need for teacher intervention. They would take responsibility for their own learning and develop as self-directed students.

Too much to hope for? Probably. I decided it was a goal worthy of my effort nevertheless. My credibility would be gone if I told you that I have achieved that goal, but self-directed students are more evident in my classroom now than before I implemented cooperative learning strategies.

My students have felt the change, too. For example, the group described in the lesson above wrote this advertisement just prior to the time they were to disband.



Group for Sale

If you're looking for a group that's smart, creative, helping, hard working, and encouraging, You're looking for us,

Kathy mcclain

The Creative Crew

Roberto Bravo

If you would like to know more about the "The Creative Crew"'s services,

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Time Magazine calls us a ★★★★★ group.

1 year guarantee!

The ad shows how they perceive themselves as a group. The feeling of interdependence is strongly implied. This ad was written after the group had been together for six weeks and had numerous opportunities to resolve conflicts and experience successes. They now seem to believe in themselves and understand that success stems from the contribution of all, not just that of an individual. Identifying and reviewing the behaviors that led to their effectiveness will, one hopes, allow them to transfer these skills to future group situations.

We can no longer settle for providing our students with a defined body of knowledge. We must prepare our students for citizenry in a world where that body of knowledge is ever expanding and rapidly changing. Our survival depends on the wise decision making of the populace. My job as an educator is to provide experiences in an environment where students are encouraged to question, think critically, collaborate, solve problems, acquire and practice basic skills, as well as apply what they learn.

Struggling to achieve this goal will always be a part of the education profession. The implementation of cooperative learning techniques has been of great value to me in this quest. Educate or teach? Let's educate.

Editor's Note: Cooperative learning is more than group work. Much more! One of the key differences is the development of working-together skills and peer tutoring skills. You have to consciously teach skills, provide ample time to practice them, and make sure students get the opportunity to evaluate and observe their growth in the use of the skills. As indicated in the lesson above, you want to keep it simple, avoid overloading the class with lists of skills. You may concentrate on only five or six all year.

Rate of Radioactive Decay

Jan Wiersema
Ninth Grade
Science Lab
Cherokee, Iowa

Background

In a science program, cooperative learning helps students internalize new information by giving them an opportunity to verbalize their thoughts, allows them to develop better problem-solving skills by considering many alternatives, encourages divergent thinking with unlimited possibilities, allows perspective-taking from various viewpoints, and is a "lifesaver" for organizing lab activities. More students do learn more and remember it longer when lessons are structured cooperatively.

All things are products of their environments. Creating a trusting atmosphere in the classroom where students feel safe enough to question ideas of others and express opinions of their own are important goals for many teachers, especially science teachers. Cooperative learning not only allows, but encourages the development of such an environment.

Skepticism is not unusual when teachers first use cooperative learning. Most educators believe that teaching students appropriate social behavior is important, but many are reluctant to "take time away from academics" in order to structure and carry out the cooperative lessons. A fairly safe lesson for a "skeptic" to structure cooperatively is a review for a major test. The results of using cooperative learning in that way will usually be enough to encourage the use of more cooperative lessons. Experience in using cooperative learning is the best cure for the skepticism.

Rate of Radioactive Decay

The following lesson provides a lab on radioactive decay. The purpose of the lesson is to help students understand how geologists determine the actual age of rocks and fossils. The lab uses a worksheet available from LAB-AIDS that contains information on the half-life of carbon-14 and also lays out a procedure for using 200 colored chips to represent radioactive atoms. The chips are put in a shaker and students shake them out on a table. Those chips landing with the white side up (decayed atoms) are removed. A count of those that remain is made and graphed. This process is continued to represent the "decay of carbon atoms." The worksheet presents a series of questions and calls for a number of summaries related to the experiment. Using the experimental data and the factual data given, the students answer questions and draw conclusions concerning the rate of radioactive decay and half-life. The overall goal is for the student to understand how age can be determined using radioactive dating methods.

The lab work uses heterogeneous groups of four. Each group uses one lab sheet, one set of plastic chips, a shaker, and an observation sheet. Each group member is assigned a different role. These roles are randomly assigned unless a special needs student should be given a special role. A foreman reads the instructions to the group and records the group's answers. The equipment manager is responsible for obtaining materials from the prep table and returning everything at the end of the lab. The shaker handles the chips. The counter counts the "decayed atoms" after each shake.

The lesson focuses on two sets of objectives:

Academic Tasks

1. Follow directions to complete all activities.
2. Answer all questions.
3. Be sure all members understand each question.

Social Tasks

1. Use names appropriately.
2. Paraphrasing.

To hold students individually accountable, students are randomly called on during the lesson to be sure all groups are doing the lab correctly and to see that all individual members are involved. Students individually take a quiz over the information the next day.

Positive interdependence is developed by using different roles (role interdependence), assigning a group grade for the worksheet (reward interdependence), limiting supplies (resource interdependence), and having groups work at tables (environmental interdependence).

To review the social tasks being emphasized, several examples are modeled. Both volunteers and nonvolunteers are called on to give other examples. To monitor the social tasks, I fill out an observation sheet on each group during the work period. The sheet has the name of each group member and a column to mark the number of times each of the skills is used. Near the end of the activity, I share my tabulations on the observation sheet with each group individually. At the end of the lesson, the class discusses the following questions and then each group agrees on an answer to the questions and writes their response in a group journal:

1. Considering the appropriate use of names, which level of use best describes your group? Why? (We have an established set of descriptors to use in evaluating use of social skills.)
2. Why was paraphrasing an appropriate skill to practice with today's lesson?
3. Describe two situations when paraphrasing might be used effectively. Explain why.

Structuring a science lab cooperatively does involve some extra time and effort in preparation, but the outcomes are usually worth it. If the basic elements of a cooperative lesson are carefully planned, the students will be more involved in the activity, reach a higher level of understanding of the concepts, practice interpersonal and effective communication skills, and enjoy learning. Extra time used to produce such outcomes is time well spent!

Editor's Note:
Key points demonstrated by this series of lessons include:

- Cooperative learning is much more than just having students work in groups.
- Student-to-student interaction has to be structured. This can be done in part by assigning roles.
- A sense of community or positive interdependence needs to be nurtured.
- Even though students work in groups, they need to be held individually accountable.
- Working-together skills have to be taught (explained, modeled, practiced, applied).
- Change is an evolutionary process.

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Jeanne Jones teaches sixth grade at Kirkwood Elementary School in the Iowa City Community School District. She participated in the Collaborative Teaching Project involving The University of Iowa and the Iowa City Schools during the 1990-91 school year.

Jan Wiersema teaches science and computer programming at Washington High School in Cherokee, Iowa. She received her B.A., Ed., and M.S., Ed. degrees from Northwest Missouri State University. She was trained in cooperative learning by Drs. David and Roger Johnson and Edythe Holubec during the summer of 1985 and received leadership training the following summer. This is her seventh year of using cooperating learning in her high school classroom. During the summer she's involved in presenting cooperative learning workshops for teachers throughout Iowa.

Review of *What's Worth Fighting For? Working Together for Your School*

Michael Fullan and Andy Hargreaves
Ontario Public School Teachers' Federation,
111 pp. $10.00

David E. Wilson
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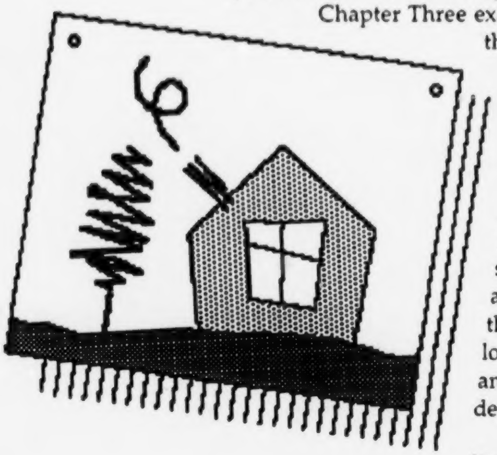
Educators have been trained, re-trained, inserviced, restructured, and reformed, yet little has changed in the academic lives of administrators, teachers, and students. This booklet, commissioned by the Ontario Public School Teachers' Federation, acknowledges that up front, yet holds out promise for real change. As the preface makes clear, it is founded on Sarason's (1990) notion that "...for our schools to do better than they do, we have to give up the belief that it is possible to create the conditions for productive learning when those conditions do not exist for educational personnel." The booklet, then, is a call to thought and action that places the initial responsibility squarely on the shoulders of teachers and principals.

Fortunately, it does not abandon us there. Fullan and Hargreaves propose reasons for failed reform, then introduce us to their solution, the notion of interactive professionalism—building learning communities for educators—and attempt to paint a picture of what such professionalism might look like and how we might get there. They present us with an interesting and valuable review of the recent research on instructional, leadership, and change practices—but not in voiceless academic prose. Instead, they tell stories, stories from their own work with teachers and schools and from the work of others.

Fullan and Hargreaves begin with an examination of the problems involved in attempting to bring about change. They cite overload, isolation, "groupthink," untapped competence and the neglect of incompetence, narrowness in the teacher's role, and a history of poor solutions and failed reform. They acknowledge that innovations generally add to teachers' problems rather than reducing them, and they work to define a balance between collegiality and the individual.

Their second chapter reminds us that change is a subjective process, an experience that needs to be responded to and assimilated by an individual. In examining this process, then, it is necessary to look at the subjective realities of the teachers involved in that process. Fullan and Hargreaves believe that much reform has failed because we have failed to consider the totality of the individual teachers involved in our change efforts, the teacher's purposes, context, culture, and identity. Pedagogy and programs are personal. How and what we teach is related to how we see ourselves, who we think we are. As Fullan and Hargreaves insist, "Teaching is bound up with [teachers'] lives, their biographies, with the kinds of people they have become" (p. 25).



Chapter Three examines the working conditions of teachers and principals, then discusses the kinds of school cultures that seem most supportive of growth and change. Rosenholtz's study of the social organizations of schools, characterizing some schools as "stuck" and others as "moving," provides a foundation here. The culture of individualism that pervades schools isolates educators from one another and institutionalizes conservatism. Teachers come to embrace isolation as a kind of defense against control and evaluation, often the earliest experiences they've had with collaboration and collegial interaction. In Rosenholtz's "stuck" schools, teachers worked alone and rarely asked for help; student achievement was low. In contrast, teachers in "moving" schools believed that teaching was difficult and that learning to teach well was a career-long process. They sought help from one another, from administrators, and from conferences and workshops. They had, as a result, greater confidence and commitment to continued growth.

All collaboration is not equal, however. Fullan and Hargreaves make distinctions between the kind of interactive professionalism they wish for us and the various weaker forms of collaboration we often see: contrived collegiality, comfortable collaboration, balkanization, storytelling, sharing. Strong collaborative cultures, Fullan and Hargreaves argue, value both individuals and the groups to which they belong. Help, support, trust, and openness pervade all relationships. Collaborative cultures respect the teacher's purposes, resulting, ironically, in much disagreement and dialogue. Collaborative cultures also respect teachers as persons. Such collaboration is often dependent on the kind of leadership provided by an administrator and that administrator's willingness to share leadership with teachers.

The final chapter asks us to develop a different mind-set to the problems identified earlier and gives specific guidelines for action. The guidelines for teachers have a strong reflective bent, calling on us to "...make our thinking about our action more explicit through a continuous process of reflection in, on, and about experiences or practices in which we are engaged" (p. 67). Fullan and Hargreaves offer seven techniques for such reflections, and insist that it needs to be both individual and collaborative and to focus both on our classrooms and on the contexts in which they operate. Teachers, they suggest, have responsibilities to " . . . increase the degree and quality of day-to-day interaction with other teachers . . . , try to understand and attempt to improve the culture of the school . . . , [connect] with the knowledge base for improving teaching and schools . . . , [and help] shape the quality of the next generation of teachers" (pp. 77-78).

Given their numbers and their presence in the classroom, teachers, the authors believe, are really the key to educational change. The building or system administrator's role is to encourage and support the development of interactive professionalism in part by helping teachers understand and follow the 12 teacher guidelines. In addition, administrators should understand the cultures of their schools before attempting to change them, and they should encourage shared leadership and faculty growth. School systems need to establish selection, promotion, and development processes that favor educators " . . .who can demonstrate initiative-taking, curriculum leadership, and a commitment to interactive forms of professional development" (p. 99). They then must also give the responsibility for the curriculum back to the teachers so that the teachers will have something important and substantial about which to collaborate. To help meet this new responsibility and to encourage professional growth, staff development resources should be shifted from workshops to opportunities for teachers to work with, learn from, and observe one another.

Joint authorships can be difficult for both writers and readers; good editing becomes essential. This booklet, unfortunately, suffers from poor editing resulting in the reader's potential suffering through redundancies, uneven text and conflicting prose. I remain ambivalent about its value—disappointed after having read so many good works by Fullan, annoyed by its lapses into the tone of a self-help book or New Age spirituality guide ("When the right connections are made, the release of energy can be powerful" [p. 91]), but still pleased with its vision, review of literature, optimistic tone, and pragmatic suggestions.

Educators interested in change might be well advised to read Fullan's *The New Meaning of Educational Change* (Teachers College Press, 1991) and Seymour Sarason's *The Predictable Failure of Educational Reform* (Jossey-Bass, 1990).

Review of *What's Worth Fighting For? Working Together For Your School*

Michael G. Fullan and Andy Hargreaves
Ontario Public School Teachers' Federation,
111 pp. $10.00

Peg Graham
Teaching Assistant
Curriculum and Instruction
The University of Iowa

Teachers and other school personnel garner plenty of advice these days about educational reform. Some of it is solicited. Some of it is valuable. Some of it is workable. If heeded, much of it could actually result in school improvements. But too often, the guidelines and frameworks offered up as educational reform are destined to fail because they either ignore teachers or oversimplify what teaching is about. Under those circumstances, it's easy for classroom veterans and even beginning teachers to dismiss school improvement efforts and innovations with comments like, "those researcher-types don't know what they're talking about!" or "What a bunch of educational mumbo-jumbo!" The voices of bitter, demoralized, cynical teachers? Perhaps, but with good reason.

Many of those teachers are on the outside of the decision-making process even when the issue is something as close to them as staff development initiatives. They're too familiar with initiatives that embody a passive view of the teacher, underestimating the active way teachers relate to their work. These teachers are also familiar with the one-shot inservice and the "quick fix" approach to educational reform—approaches imposed by outsiders, approaches focused merely on teachers' technical skills, approaches offered as attractive or practical or self-contained because they don't "impinge awkwardly on curriculum matters or on the continuing organization of the school." That may be a tidy way for a school system to deal with educational change, but it's not an effective way to recognize teachers' centrality to true educational reform efforts or encourage them to embrace innovations in any meaningful way. In fact, it discourages sustained developmental changes within the teacher, individual buildings, and the school system as a whole. Teachers, as the movers and shakers of genuine reform, need to see how they fit into the big picture of educational change as well as how that picture extends beyond their classrooms. And they want to learn about that picture from a credible source, in language they appreciate as being clear and practical for that purpose.

What's Worth Fighting For? Working Together For Your School, by Michael G. Fullan and Andy Hargreaves, satisfies that need for many of us. The authors believe the time is ripe for teachers and principals to fight in concert for school improvements.

The Ontario Public School Teachers' Federation, an elementary teacher association, commissioned Fullan and Hargreaves to prepare a monograph addressing the practical concerns related to the transformation of schools into fulfilling, professional places. As they define major problems with educational reform and encourage a mind-set based on guidelines for actions, the authors depend heavily on teachers' voices to ground the thought piece in the real world of schools. Teachers and principals are not limited by a study from a Canadian perspective drawing examples predominantly from elementary level classrooms; the problems facing education today apply to American schools as well as Canadian, and to secondary as well as elementary classrooms.

Exactly what are the problems Fullan and Hargreaves address? Teacher burnout. Power inequities. Cynicism. Lack of Leadership. Experienced teachers often lose energy, enthusiasm and motivation, not because of the job itself, but because of the conditions of the job. Isolation, work overloads, narrowly defined roles for teachers, overlooked and undervalued competence, contrived or mandated collegiality, repeated failure of education reforms—all of these conspire to diminish the rewards of our profession, leading to the devolution of teaching into repetitive routines. New teachers are especially vulnerable. Struggling to survive the early years of teaching without the help of colleagues, fearful of being judged incompetent by others, new teachers too often regress to the safety and security of mediocre methods. It's true that current trends appear to recognize teachers' importance to educational change, but narrow inservice education plans neglect individual teacher's previous experience, prior knowledge, personal values, age, or gender. And all of this comes at a time when teaching is changing dramatically; wider more diverse demands on schools thrust teachers into new situations calling for more extensive consultation with colleagues and adults, but not the commensurate training or opportunity to do so.

The education outlook is further made problematic by school leadership. Gradual developmental methods for nurturing teacher improvement and change through adequate training and preparation occur infrequently. Scrutinized by the public, teachers and administrators settle for "solutions" that may address the immediate problem temporarily, but establish no solid collaborative networks, effective lines of collegial communication, or shared decision-making or leadership responsibilities. Overloaded principals, chained to meeting schedules and sucked into the bureaucratic vacuum, can't carry out their most important role—instructional leader. This lack of shared leadership as much as anything else divides educators in their efforts to improve schools. It creates an atmosphere of distrust and uncertainty.

This aura of uncertainty surrounding the art and science of teaching prompt Fullan and Hargreaves to preface guidelines for action by questioning what it means to be a "good teacher." How many teachers are complete incompetents with no insights into how to teach effectively? Is it possible we need to think of "good teaching" in a more generous way, approaching fellow educators as individuals with competence to share? How often do we see cliques of "good teachers" gather in the lounge, engaging in a true professional dialogue without ever inviting teachers on the "outside" of that circle to join in? How often do teachers close their doors to collegiality, fearing they might not "measure up" to someone else's expectations? And how often do principals confine their interactions with teachers to evaluation conferences and observations?

Those conditions cultivate attitudes counterproductive to our mission as educators. Fullan and Hargreaves ask us to resist perpetuating those attitudes by considering adoption of action guidelines that promote a new mind-set for teachers and administrators. For example, they encourage us to listen to our "inner voices" and articulate those intuitions. They carefully define "reflective practitioner" and offer an extensive menu of techniques for developing strong forms of reflective practice. Other guidelines deal with taking risks, trusting processes as well as people, redefining teacher roles to include responsibilities outside the classroom, and striking a balance between work and life. These are not mandates or lockstep approaches to teacher change, not absolute truths to be taken "literally or in isolation." Instead, they are "nudges" or possibilities for individual teachers to consider. The mind-set resulting from the totality of guidelines is what's important as it extends to principals, system administrators—to all involved in the education process. That mind-set must precede meaningful reforms. Its development depends heavily on school officials who are willing to share power, tolerate different developmental paces, value all teachers, and use bureaucratic means to facilitate rather than constrain change efforts.

Educators like me who have lots of experience in public schools will like this monograph. Not because it says what we want to hear; what it describes is a long, difficult process. Not because the authors have the "ultimate formula" for realizing genuine educational reform; we know educational change depends on our individual and group efforts to adjust and adapt. But like Lortie's *Schoolteacher, What's Worth Fighting For?* delivers a jolt—we recognize ourselves, our situations, our voices. Fullan and Hargreaves know our problems well, and if they sound idealistic to some readers, maybe we must consider that realistically—recreating ourselves and our culture requires a large measure of optimism. Overcoming demoralizing conditions that drive even the most dedicated teachers out of teaching demands such a mind-set.

Journal of Research for School Executives

Invitation for Manuscripts

The Editorial Board of the *Journal* invites the submission of manuscripts for publication consideration. The *Journal* is refereed and is published by the Institute for School Executives of the College of Education, The University of Iowa. The *Journal's* intended audience includes education executives, school staff members, board members, and other interested persons.

The primary purpose of the publication is to disseminate to educational executives research, scholarship, informed opinion, and their practical applications. Educational executives will be encouraged to share the publication with colleagues, staff members, board members, and other interested persons. Published articles will provide the name and address of a contact person who can provide additional information.

A manuscript that has been simultaneously submitted to other journals in the same format will not be considered by the Editorial Board. Unless permission is granted in advance by the *Journal*, each paper is accepted with the understanding that the *Journal* has exclusive rights. All manuscripts, if appropriate, are submitted for blind review by readers approved by the Editorial Board. The *Journal* reserves the right to edit for brevity, clarity, and considerations of style. Review will generally be conducted along the following topic areas:

a. Curriculum and Instruction Supervision
b. Organizational and Administrative Theory and Practice
c. Social, Historical, and Philosophical Aspects of Education
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The *Journal* is especially interested in receiving manuscripts addressing these topics; however, other topics of interest to the *Journal's* intended audience are encouraged. Views expressed in manuscripts selected for publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute for School Executives, the College of Education, The University of Iowa, or their officials, faculty members, or staff.

The following guidelines are established for the submission of manuscripts.

Manuscripts: Authors should submit four copies of each manuscript, retaining a copy for their personal file. Manuscripts should generally be 15 pages or fewer in length; however, exceptions will be made when the topic and treatment so warrant. All copy should be double spaced with margins of 1 inch on all sides. Tables and figures should be numbered, titled, cited, and inserted in the text. To allow manuscripts to be reviewed confidentially, the cover page only should include the name, address, position, institution, and telephone number of author(s). Manuscripts should be accompanied by abstracts of approximately 150 words and should include the purpose, objectives, finding, and implications and/or recommendations resulting from the research. The *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, (3rd ed.) style of writing should be used. Manuscripts submitted for review should be in compliance with the *Manual* guidelines for nonsexist and nonethnic biased language.

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The primary purpose of the *Journal* is to disseminate to educational executives the results of research, scholarship, informed opinion, and their practical implications. School superintendents, central staff members, and principals will be encouraged to share publication articles with colleagues, staff members, board members, and interested community persons.

Manuscripts should be written in a style similar to that used in a consulting capacity. (In effect, that is what the author is doing, consulting with school executives on the practical implications of the research or scholarship involved.) Generally, manuscripts should not attempt to stretch the vocabulary or endurance of the intended audience. An easy-to-follow writing style, such as is found in the *Phi Delta Kappan* is desirable. While all manuscripts are not expected to appeal to all school executives, it should be clear from the manuscript that specific segments of the intended audience will be interested in the information contained in the manuscripts.

Manuscripts should not contain detailed descriptions and technical information about methodology or unnecessary detail about data findings. Persons interested in the technical aspects of the study or scholarship can contact the author directly for that information. Each published article will be accompanied by the mailing address of the author, or a contact person, with an invitation for follow-up contact. Manuscripts should focus on the importance and relevance of the research findings or scholarship to school executives.

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Cooperative learning is a powerful teaching strategy, but it is only one of many teaching strategies. It is not a panacea. In terms of mainstreaming, detracking, and achievement, too many expect too much, too soon. We need to apply what we know about the change process to avoid premature judgment and the derailment of a promising movement. In this issue, Roger and David Johnson underscore the possibilities by extending the theory of cooperative learning to the development of cooperative schools. This is exciting, but the excitement surrounding the whole movement has to be bridled. The intent of this issue is to call attention to the change process as it relates to cooperative learning and to help keep the excitement and promise alive.

Michele Britton Bass summarizes studies detailing complexities involved in having students with handicaps work in cooperative groups. Carol Rolheiser-Bennett identifies key variables related to successful staff development and implementation of cooperative learning. Larry Shiley discusses the use of support groups and coaching to promote cooperative learning. And, Pat Scanlan ties it together by giving us a personal look at key issues involved in one teacher's successful implementation of cooperative learning.

To help keep the excitement alive and to bring it to a concrete level, three exemplary lessons are described: "Interview and Share" a kindergarten lesson shared by Marilyn Marshall (Sperry, Iowa), "Placing Technological Changes on a Time Line" a sixth grade lesson shared by Jeanne Jones (Iowa City, Iowa), and "Rate of Radioactive Decay" a ninth grade lesson shared by Jan Wiersema (Cherokee, Iowa).

Change is a multifaceted, complex process. This has to be respected. We have to guard against inflated expectations and an oversimplification of what is involved.

Richard D. Shepardson, Guest Editor

SPRING 1992 VOLUME 2

JOURNAL OF RESEARCH FOR SCHOOL EXECUTIVES

Dropouts: Administrators' Perceptions • Implementation of School-Based Management • Communication During Evaluations Charismatic Leadership • School-Community Relations • School Reform

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Robert D. Benton

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JOURNAL OF RESEARCH FOR SCHOOL EXECUTIVES

Dear Reader,

It is still pretty amazing to me that this is the first issue of the second volume of the *Journal*. Two years ago an idea for a new publication for the scholar-practicing school administrator was a little more than a thought. With the great help of many fine authors, the Editorial Board, and the Managing Editor, a dream has come to pass. Not only is the *Journal* up and going strong, it is getting progressively better with each issue.

The Winter 1991-92 special issue on cooperative learning has been the publishing highlight of the *Journal* to date. Guest editor, Richard Shepardson, did a superb job of pulling together the articles from leading researchers in the United States and Canada and experienced practitioners. We have received many favorable comments about that issue. If you didn't read it before, do it now.

This issue returns to a potpourri of topics. The article by Hyle, Bull, Salyer, and Montgomery on administrative perceptions of dropouts should result in reflection by many school administrators. The article by McKinney and Place on school-community relations establishes again that John Dewey is for many a "person for all times." The article by Evans and Perry is a timely assessment of implementation of site-based management in a large urban school district. A revisit to the characteristics of a good educational leader and one approach for thorough self-evaluation is found in the article by Norris and Craig. The importance of understanding all the communication which occurs during stages of teacher evaluations is found in the article by Mary and Dan O'Hair.

The article by Robert Benton on how students are sometimes forgotten in school reform when the primary effort is to show empirical progress comes from the heart and mind of a well-known and long respected American educator.

So, enjoy this issue. If you want additional information about the contents of articles, you are encouraged to contact the authors directly. If you like this issue, let us know. If you don't like this issue, let us know. If you think the *Journal* is worth your time, let your friends know. Our subscription level could use a good lift.

Thanks for your support and suggestions.

Sincerely,

Larry D. Bartlett, J.D./Ph.D.
Editor

Dropouts: Administrators' Perceptions of Priorities for Dealing with the Problem

Adrienne E. Hyle
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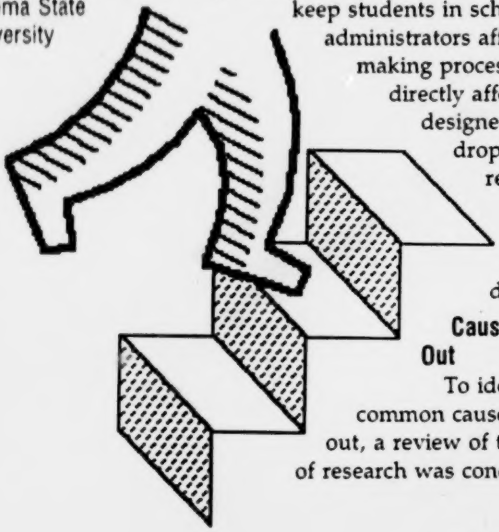
Grossnickle (1986) asserts that dropouts leave school in a desperate attempt to avoid failure. He believes these students are escaping from a place "they see as cruel, tedious, irrelevant, boring and uncaring" (p. 11). The dropout is not one kind of student. According to Morrow (1987), dropouts should be variously labeled:

- Pushouts—students who the school actively tries to get rid of because they are viewed as undesirable (typically aggressive, disturbed, or confrontational students)
- Disaffiliateds—students who have not bonded and who no longer desire to be affiliated with the school (poor, unmotivated, socially unwanted students)
- Educational mortalities—students who fail to complete the academic program and may not be capable of learning even if more time were given (slow learners or those in special education)
- Capable dropouts—students who could academically matriculate but their personal socialization conflicts with school rules and policy (typically middle class or above, majority students)
- Stopouts—students who withdraw and then return, usually within the same year (usually females, sometimes gifted, or those who go to college early)

Students represented by these types are likely to drop out of school for different reasons. We may likely assume that if a variety of types of students drop out, there are also a variety of "causes" for dropping out. Given this reality, what can be done to keep the dropout in school?

Because they have control over school programs, administrators should have an impact on implementing strategies designed to keep students in school. The beliefs of administrators affect their decision-making process and thereby directly affect efforts designed to solve the dropout problem. This research examines administrators' priorities for dealing with the dropout problem.



Causes for Dropping Out

To identify current and common causes of dropping out, a review of the last five years of research was conducted, yielding several hundred reports on the dropout problem. Content analysis resulted in nine groups of items related to the causes identified for dropping out, leaving, or withdrawing from school. These include multicultural issues, home problems, structural (school) conflict, lack of educational support, child rearing needs, inappropriate educational programming, criminal/victimization, and truancy.

Multicultural Issues

Hahn (1987) reports that disadvantaged, minority students are three times as likely to drop out as are advantaged students. This higher dropout rate for minority students is also reported by others (e.g., Bernoff, 1981; Rumberger, 1983, 1987). Black students are three times as likely to be suspended from school as are white students. Absences, especially under negative circumstances, and loss of access to school puts the black student further behind academically (Mann, 1987).

Many times, minority children may be viewed as unneeded or "disposable" unless they have strong parental support or athletic talent. Schools do not actively recruit or tacitly want some minority students, particularly those who have been incarcerated (Haberman & Quinn, 1986) or those who have surpassed their sports eligibility (Ligon, 1988). Wheelock (1986) states that stereotypical perception of students in relation to attendance policies, academics, and behavior can also affect the dropout rate.

Minority students who do not have positive role models—either successful peers or admirable teachers—are also more likely to drop out (Illinois State Task Force on Hispanic Students, 1985). Many Black and Hispanic students find discrimination in the schools to be personally and culturally dehumanizing or humiliating (Smith, 1986).

In addition, minority dropouts assert that they have been dealt with in a discriminatory fashion by their teachers (Lipinski, 1989) and their peers. They report that when there are problems in class, they are suspected. They believe they are denigrated and deprived of the opportunities afforded to Anglo children. Such beliefs and perceptions, as well as the actual negative responses many minority students experience, lead to dropping out at an alarming rate.

Home Problems

Parental problems such as divorce, separation, and unemployment can reduce the stability of the home. Unstable home life may translate into little support for or interest in school. Thus, there may be few parental consequences for dropping out. Also, when parents are experiencing acute or chronic problems, children cannot study or develop strong ties to those who are like their parents, i.e., their teachers. Alienated at home, they lack the support needed to maintain school responsibilities.

Morgan (1984) presents data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Market Experience showing that 37% of young women who dropped out of school did so for family-related causes. Dunham and Alpert (1987) found that juvenile delinquents who drop out have marginal or weak relationships with their parents. Problems in the home can occur when families are dysfunctional (Regional Laboratory for Educational Improvement of the Northeast and the Islands, 1987), abusive (Ediger, 1987), or when interrelationships are poor (O'Connor, 1985).

Structural Conflicts

Many times students who drop out claim conflicts with teachers, administrators, or schools in general. Anderson and Limoncelli (1982) believe that "where the school sees the child's behavior as a problem, the child sees the school with its rules and regulations as a problem" (p. 383). The literature predominantly refers to structural conflicts as those behavior and discipline problems that cause students to drop out (Wehlege & Rutter, 1987).

Hammock (1987) notes that 21% of dropouts in his survey reported "I couldn't get along with teachers" as a rationale for dropping out. Comerford and Jacobson (1987) also show that conflict between the student and teachers or administrators is a factor in dropping out. This is particularly true when the conflict leads to the suspension or expulsion of the student. Also, stereotypes about intellectual abilities can be related to capable students dropping out (Hammond & Howard, 1986).

Lack of Educational Support

Many students are embedded in cultural, peer, or family situations that affect their school persistence. If the families of children who have school difficulties do not themselves have strong educational backgrounds and provide strong support for education, children are likely to drop out (Coleman, 1988). This is especially true when the community provides very weak educational support (Watt, Guajardo, & Markman, 1987).

The background, culture, and home values may dictate that a student drop out of school. Frequently, teens are drawn into work or family-related enterprises. Some families actively work against student graduation for religious or cultural reasons. Generally, dropouts typically do not have family systems that support persistence in educational settings (Fagan & Pabon, 1990).

Dunham and Alpert (1987) show that peers seduce marginal students away from academics. Dropout peers provide attractive, although short-term, alternatives to school, usually involving cars, clothes, and money. Seduction may result through modeling of behavior, not through the active efforts of the dropout to get others to join. Nevertheless, dropping out does result.

Rearing/Supporting Children

According to Hahn (1987), 80% of pregnant girls drop out of school. Pregnancy is also supported by Pallas (1987) as the most common reason for young women to drop out. Many students drop out to care for or to support children when adequate financial support or day care is not available (Polit & Kahn, 1987).

Dropping out when pregnant can be caused by embarrassment, by family pressure (another form of embarrassment), or by school rules. In some districts, rules exist that require visibly pregnant students to receive homebound instruction. Such roadblocks can exclude pregnant students until an entire semester or year of schooling is lost (Pallas, 1987). This strategy occurs in rural school districts more often than in urban or non-rural districts (Helge, 1990).

Inappropriate Educational Programming

Students who drop out report they have left school because they were bored and because they were frustrated. In either case, the educational opportunities available to the student are inappropriate (Barr & Knowles, 1986). Many students are functionally illiterate in reading, nonfunctional in mathematics, or lacking in other basic skills (Bernick, 1986). Failure to learn in turn leads to alienation from school (O'Connor, 1985).

Students who are retained in school with little or no hope of graduating are likely dropout candidates (Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack, & Rock, 1986). Fear of failure forces students to leave school. The perceptions of certain competency tests may cause a fear that encourages dropping out instead of facing the disgrace of a low or failing score. If the tests are perceived as too difficult, the student loses all motivation to try to pass.

Lack of (Appropriate) Peer Group

To be able to relate to individuals in a peer group, a student must be of the same physical or mental age as the members of that group. Regarding mental age, a student can relate to individuals with higher mental age, but not to those with lower mental age. Hahn (1987) cites data indicating that students who are retained are four times as likely to drop out as those who are not. Many who are "too old" for the peer group find that dropping out is easier than staying in school.

It may seem that the purpose of some grading systems is to push out some students.

Mann (1987) provides data that show that being retained once increases the risk of dropping out by 40% and being retained two grades increases the risk by 90%.

When the school or teacher decides to retain a student, the decision results in removal from the school peer group. Students who do not bond to a peer group become alienated from school, especially when they believe that they have no role to play. Many who drop out feel that they have not been included or have been actively excluded from peer relationships in high school (Fennimore, 1989).

Criminal/Victimization

Dropouts may leave school as a result of their own deviant behavior such as when a student is institutionalized or incarcerated (Bernoff, 1981) or adjudicated as a delinquent (Pallas, 1987). Of those who are incarcerated, only 1.6% eventually finish high school (Haberman & Quinn, 1986).

Students who fear victimization and gang violence drop out of school. The fear of victimization is higher for inner city students than it is for rural students (Helge, 1990).

Truancy/Pushouts

Students who are truant usually are trying to escape from an adverse environment. For many dropouts, truancy is a necessary precursor to leaving school (Tuck & Shimbuli, 1988). Truancy can lead to expulsion, to academic failure when it is not possible for work to be made up, and to an inadequate number of earned credits, especially in schools that have rules regarding the number of absences a student can have and still receive a passing grade. Students who earn poor grades also tend to drop out. It may seem that the purpose of some grading systems is to push out some students.

Students may be truant because of job demands (Raffe, 1986). When employers schedule students for late-night or school-day hours, they are establishing conflict situations for school-age employees. The student is forced to decide between giving up the job or giving up school. For many students who are not bonded to the school or who desperately need money, the easier choice is obvious.

Summary

The dropout issue is complex. Yet some strategies may make a difference for students at risk of dropping out. The first step is to discover the ways administrators view dropouts and what can be or should be done to combat the dropout dilemma. This study examines their perspectives by comparing the causes administrators believe are affecting students today and the causes that have a sound research base to plan a programmatic and effective intervention.

Methodology

Subjects

The sample was composed of 891 principals, superintendents, and other administrators who responded to a questionnaire sent to 1,300 randomly selected principals and superintendents nationally. The overall return rate for the study was 71.8%.[1]

The sample contained 119 females and 752 males. Respondents included 375 principals, 321 superintendents, and 175 other central administrators.

Instrument

The questionnaire used in this study was developed by Bull, Salyer, and Montgomery (1990). In addition to demographic items, the questionnaire included a total of 42 item stems, each presented with two sets of Likert-like scales. Two responses were requested for each item. The first set of responses—Set A—indicated whether the cause for dropping out was one that should be a national priority. The second set—Set B—asked if enough research had been done to deal with the problem, assuming also that sufficient resources were available.

Analyses

Two factor analyses were conducted. The first dealt with the national priority question and the second with the adequacy of a research base. Both sets of responses were subjected to a principal components analysis with a varimax rotation. Chi-square analyses were conducted on the resulting factors.

Results

Set A Factors

Factorial analysis of Set A data yielded nine factors that public school administrators believed to be the causes of dropping out that should be identified as a national priority. Chi-squares for all factors were significant at $p < .000$. The nine factors, listed in order of amount of variance explained, are:

Factor 1: Multicultural causes (e.g., discrimination, poverty, peer violence, no teacher role model; 21.4% agreement)

Factor 2: Home problems (e.g., living on one's own, parental problems, home responsibilities, foster home; 46.6% agreement)

Factor 3: Structural (school) conflict (e.g., conflict with school and teachers, no hope of graduating; 53.9% agreement)

Factor 4: Lack of educational support (e.g., no parental, peer, or community support; 57.9% agreement)

Factor 5: Child-rearing issues (e.g., need to support spouse, pregnancy, no day care, medical problems; 35.5% agreement)

Factor 6: Inappropriate educational programming (e.g., frustration, boredom, undiagnosed learning disabilities; 47.5% agreement)

Factor 7: Lack of peer group (e.g., too different, no peer group, too old; 14.4% agreement)

Factor 8: Criminal/victimization (e.g., substance abuse, involvement in crime, illiteracy, migrant family; 71.5% agreement)

Factor 9: Truancy causes (e.g., truant, no truant officer, no hope of graduating; 51.1% agreement)

Set B Factors

Chi-square analyses were also conducted for the seven factors related to the sufficiency of the data base for intervention. All chi-squares were significant at $p < .000$. The factors, listed in order of amount of variance explained, are:

Factor 1: Educationally dysfunctional (e.g., dysfunctional family, no parental support, emotional problems, illiterate; 40.8% agreement)

Factor 2: Discrimination (e.g., dehumanization, peer violence, undiagnosed learning disabilities; 40.1% agreement)

Factor 3: School conflict (e.g., conflict with teachers and/or school, need to get away from home; 40.8% agreement)

Factor 4: Response to inadequate education (e.g., boredom and frustration; 60.1% agreement)

Factor 5: Being different from peer group (e.g., too different, no peer group, enrolled in special education, too old; 47.3% agreement)

Factor 6: Child-related factors (e.g., need to support spouse, pregnancy; 50.8% agreement)

Factor 7: Nontypical home lifestyle (e.g., foster home, runaway, living on one's own, home responsibilities; 39.2% agreement)

Discussion

National Priorities

Nine clearly defined clusters of priorities were identified in this study. The collection of criminal/victimization factors received the highest composite level of agreement, with more than two-thirds of the respondents supporting this cluster as a high national priority. Administrators in this study view this cluster of causes as the ones toward which the greatest effort should be made. Items in this cluster include substance abuse, child abuse, involvement in crime, and illiteracy.

Factors that received support from more than 40% of the respondents included home problems, structural conflict, lack of educational support, inappropriate educational programming, and truancy. Individual items from these factors include parental problems, no hope of graduating, no parental support for education, pregnancy, frustration, and boredom. It should be noted, however, that there is also a great deal of uncertainty involved with these factors. In some cases, more than one-third of the respondents were undecided in their views on these causes of dropping out.

Factors receiving low levels of support were multicultural issues and lack of a peer group. Respondents in this study believed other factors were of greater importance than these as items requiring national priority.

When examined in terms of reported priorities, the data lead to an interesting interpretation. Administrators view as most important national priorities those factors that reside within the students. These were followed by parental, environmental, and structural/educational factors, only the last of which are directly under control of the administrator in a school. The lowest level priorities, multicultural and peer group access, both of which are amenable to administrative manipulation, were not believed to be high priority items.

A variety of conclusions can be drawn. The first is that nationally, administrators focus concern on broader societal issues knowing that they themselves are tending to the causes of dropping out found in their own schools and districts. A second conclusion to be drawn from these data is that school and peer-related problems must be recognized and addressed in public education if the full range of causes of dropping are to be examined and taken into consideration. If this is not done, it is possible that administrators will continue to blame the victim, not schools, and continue to live with high dropout rates.

. . . it is possible that administrators will continue to blame the victim, not schools, and continue to live with high dropout rates.

The national priority agenda set forth here appears to be one that includes fixing the homes of students and fixing the children. These administrators appear to believe that this should help alleviate the dropout problem. Although this agenda does not support reformation of schools and schooling, such reformation seems to have widespread administrative support.

Research Base

There are seven groupings of causes that administrators believe could be dealt with effectively, at one level or another, given sufficient funds and resources. Of these seven, two causes were deemed curable: 1) inadequate education, consisting of the two items—boredom and frustration, and 2) child-related factors, consisting of items such as supporting a spouse and medical problems. Fully one-half of the administrators sampled believe that these problems could be dealt with without further research.

Administrators are less sure that other groups of causes could be remedied if resources were allocated. However, at least 40% of the respondents believe that the following factors could be dealt with without further research: being educationally dysfunctional, discrimination, school conflict, and being different from a peer group.

Somewhat surprisingly, all factors garnered at least a one-third agreement rate. There are strong implications from these data that nationally at least one-third of administrators believe that most of the major causes of dropping out can be corrected without further research.

Conclusions

The administrators in this study appear to believe that the focus of dropout strategies should be on the children themselves and their home environments and problems. The ability of administrators to make real progress in helping students deal with these issues is noble, but questionable. The administrators in this study do have the ability to make a difference in their own schools and districts, yet their focus is not there. Might they be neglecting their own glass house and throwing stones at others?

Educators must see their own problems and attempt to remedy them. The goal of education must be to support children and keep them, all of them, in school by making schools better and more comforting places to be.

Footnote

[1] Please note that not all statistics total 891 because of missing data on some forms.

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Assessing the Implementation of School-Based Management and the Impact on the Environment of the School

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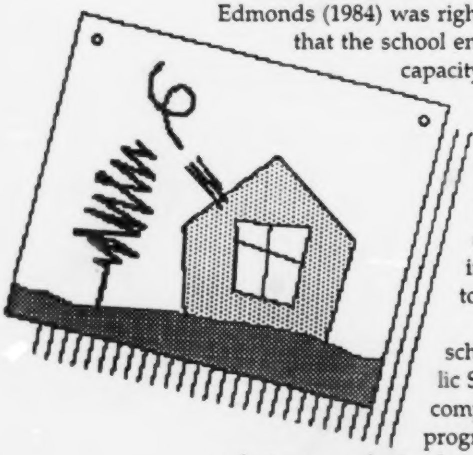
Introduction

In recent years, school-based management (SBM) has been proposed as a needed educational reform and a useful framework for improving the quality of schools. SBM, also referred to as site-based management and/or shared decision-making by some authors, involves mechanisms for generating a sense of broad-based ownership of school improvement initiatives and ensuring that all the school's constituencies are provided the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process. SBM is based on the principles of collaborative planning and consensus building and requires teachers to assume greater decision-making authority. Indeed, with the adoption of SBM, all of the school's constituencies need to adopt new and expanded roles within the organizational structure of the school.

SBM has evolved from ideas about planning and effective organizations from both the public and private sector. For example, research has indicated that the greater the control a local school has over those aspects of its organization that affect its performance, the more likely the school is to display those characteristics that promote educational quality and instructional effectiveness (Henderson, 1987). Also, there is mounting evidence that the introduction of SBM leads to increased commitment to the school and enhanced cooperation among the constituencies of the school (Corcoran, 1988).

In general, the research suggests that the implementation of SBM results in changes in the environment of the school. To the extent Edmonds (1984) was right when he suggested that the school environment has the capacity to elevate or depress each teacher's capacity for effective or ineffective teaching, it would follow that the introduction of SBM would lead to improvement in indicators of student success.



During the 1988-89 school year, Chicago Public Schools initiated a comprehensive training program to introduce a select group of schools to SBM. Intensive training sessions for administrators, teachers, career service staff, parents, students, and community members have provided the schools with the principles of SBM. It was anticipated that these schools would implement SBM at the local level and, further, that the adoption of SBM would lead to changes in the environment of the school.

The purpose of this article is to share the results obtained from these schools over the past three years relative to a number of factors, which are broadly defined as comprising the environment of the school. These general factors include information about the adoption of SBM and school improvement planning initiatives (including staff development activities) undertaken in these schools. The results also focus on changes in school climate and a variety of measures or indicators of student success.

Methodology

For each of the 10 schools participating in a project focusing on the implementation of school-based management of the local school level, extensive case studies have been undertaken. For each school, data have been generated from a number of sources; a brief description of each general category follows.

First, a description of some selected demographic characteristics of the schools seems appropriate; these figures are based on routinely collected system-wide data. All of the schools serve grades K-8 and all are located in an urban setting. The student population in each school is approximately 99% Black, non-Hispanic. The average student enrollment is 632; the average number of faculty is 38; the average stability ratio is 81%. On average, 89% of the students are classified as low income. All of the schools have state-initiated and ECIA Chapter 1.

The information on the implementation of SBM was obtained from observations conducted by the authors in each school. These observations were undertaken at least twice a year over the three-year period. A self-report developed by each school regarding the implementation of SBM, which was the focus of a two-day training activity, adds credence to the observational data.

Each school developed a School Improvement Plan (SIP) during the first year of project participation. This SIP has been modified during the past two years based on the results obtained by each school regarding the relative success of various SIP initiatives. The SIP includes goals and objectives and relevant staff development activities.

Each school administered the *Effective School Battery* (ESB) at the end of each of the past three school years. Developed by Gottfredson (1984), the ESB includes 34 indicators of school climate.

Student outcomes include results from the *Iowa Tests of Basic Skills* (ITBS), the *Illinois Goals Assessment Program* (IGAP), and other routinely collected system-wide data such as attendance and retention rates.

Results

SBM Implementation

Each school has adopted a model of SBM displaying a number of common characteristics. Each has a central Core Planning Team (CPT) responsible for the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of school improvement initiatives. Key members of the CPT include the chairperson, recorder, school-based evaluator, and process observer (who serves to keep team meetings on track through the utilization of group maintenance techniques). The principal, as the administrator and instructional leader of the school, is a member of the CPT. One primary role of the principal is that of facilitator of an environment that supports SBM.

. . . there is evidence of broad-based ownership of school improvement initiatives.

The CPT at each school uses consensus building techniques (rather than voting) as part of the collaborative planning and decision-making process. Clearly, shared decision making is taking place in these schools. Further, each school utilizes an organizational structure that relies on design teams to carry out the decisions of the CPT. Any member of any of the school's constituencies may serve on the CPT or design teams. The information flow is facilitated by the use of a "pyramid" structure with each member of the school having at least one "pyramid buddy." These strategies ensure that decisions about the school have a broad base of ownership.

In summary, observations and self-reports in the schools studied indicate that a model of shared decision making is in place. Moreover, the schools are utilizing consensus building techniques within a framework of collaborative planning. Certainly, there is evidence of broad-based ownership of school improvement initiatives.

School Improvement Plans

Each school has developed a School Improvement Plan (SIP). These plans share many common characteristics. For example, nearly all of their objectives fall under the following general goals:

- increase student achievement as measured by standardized tests
- improve school climate as measured by climate surveys
- provide appropriate staff development activities
- improve indicators of student success such as student attendance, tardiness, and other measures
- provide appropriate academic programs

The plans may differ across schools in the types of activities and strategies each has developed to address the various goals and objectives. For example, across the 10 schools, 37 unique ideas are listed as strategies for improving student attendance.

The developmental process across schools was very similar. The CPT developed draft lists of goals and objectives. These were revised based on feedback received from the entire faculty and staff. Once the goals/objectives were in place, design teams drafted activities and strategies for their accomplishment. These strategies were then modified based on feedback provided by the entire faculty. This process ensured broad-based ownership of the SIP. Finally, a monitoring and evaluation component for the plan was developed.

Each school has also implemented a staff development program as part of its SIP. The programs conducted at the local school sites are generally ongoing, year-round in nature. Common themes include curriculum development and implementation, teacher effectiveness, discipline, and approaches to enhance student self-esteem. Each school has a unique staff development component related to the particular instructional focus of the school (e.g., Whole Language, African-Centered Curriculum), and to the needs of individual staff members. In this regard, staff members have been provided the opportunity to attend various professional conferences and in-services.

Staff development programs have also been conducted at a central training center by project staff, outside consultants, and topic experts. Generally, these activities have focused on the various aspects of SBM as well as on the development, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of the SIP.

School Climate

The school climate results were obtained from the *Effective School Battery* (ESB). Table 1 presents results from the 1989 and 1991 administration of the ESB; the average percentiles and change scores are provided for each scale. While the ESB provides results on 34 various climate scales, only the results for those 10

Table 1
School Climate Scale Results, 1989 to 1991, Reported in Percentiles

Scale	1989 Percentile	1991 Percentile	Change
Parent Involvement	33	94	+61
Attachment to School	27	72	+45
Student Involvement	42	73	+31
Staff Morale	43	70	+27
Professional Development	56	82	+26
Job Satisfaction	43	69	+26
Planning	52	74	+22
Educational Expectations	23	42	+19
Student Self-Concept	44	62	+18
Administration	45	60	+15

scales most frequently mentioned either directly or indirectly in the improvement plans are presented in the table.

These results indicate that the school-climate measures have increased substantially over the past three years. Significant gains have been observed in all 10 areas addressed by the improvement plans. The general pattern suggests the mean scores were somewhat below average in 1989 and were somewhat above average in 1991. While overall means are reported, these results generally reflect the changes occurring at each individual school.

Clearly, many aspects of school climate are changing in a positive way. The results tend to confirm what would be expected from the research literature. On a more intuitive level, the results appear sensible in that many of these factors seem inter-related or co-dependent. For example, the literature suggests the introduction of SBM promotes commitment to the school (Corcoran, 1988). On the ESB scale "Attachment to School," the results support this notion. On the common-sense level, as student and parental involvement, expectations, and self-concept increase, it's not surprising to note a reported increase in attachment to the school.

The largest gain was noted for the "Parent Involvement" scale score. This result is supported by the data gathered as part of the monitoring of parent and community attendance figures at school functions. In all of the schools, parent and community involvement in school improvement initiatives has increased dramatically over the past three years. In general, school climate (as measured by the ESB) has improved over the past three years, and these results are supported by self-reports of progress submitted by the schools as well as by observations by the school's constituencies and project staff.

Student Outcomes

The results from a number of indicators of student success are presented in Table 2. First, the ITBS and IGAP results are reported. These figures reflect the percentage of students scoring above the national norms from 1989 to 1991. These are means across all 10 schools and are reported for both the reading and math subtests. It should be noted that in a few instances these trends do not reflect individual school results; that is, not every school reported positive gains across all three years.

Table 2
Indicators of Student Success, 1989 to 1991

Indicator	1989	1990	1991
ITBS - Reading Subtest (% above national norms)	9	11	19
ITBS - Math Subtest (% above national norms)	16	17	21
IGAP - Reading Subtest (% above national norms)	10	20	25
IGAP - Math Subtest (% above national norms)	14	20	28
Student Attendance (average daily %)	89	90	92
Student Retention (% retained)	9	4	2

While the scores in math are slightly higher than the reading scores, the ITBS results for both reading and math show similar trends;

both suggest improvement over the past three years. Likewise, the IGAP math scores are slightly higher than the reading scores, but both reflect a positive trend over the past three years. Although these results indicate relatively low achievement levels, the trends are encouraging.

The results related to two other indicators of student success are reported in Table 2. The average daily attendance is relatively high and only slight changes are noted over the three years; again, the trend is positive and attendance does seem to be improving. The retention rate has declined somewhat over the past three years, from about 9% in 1989 to about 2% in 1991. These data suggest the failure rate is decreasing in these schools over the three years and that students are meeting educational expectations. However, while there has been no system-wide policy implemented regarding retention, it may be that some schools are simply recognizing the negative effects of retention.

. . . indicators of student success suggest encouraging trends in student standardized test scores, improvements in attendance, and a reduction in retention rates.

These results suggest that positive change is occurring in these schools, as measured by some indicators of student success. In general, student achievement has improved over the past three years, student attendance has increased, and the retention rate has decreased. These data add further credence to the notion that the environment of these schools is changing.

Conclusion

Each of the 10 schools studied has implemented a model of SBM involving collaborative planning, consensus building, and shared decision making. Each has developed an improvement plan that reflects broad-based ownership of improvement initiatives. As part of the improvement plan, each school has also developed a staff development program.

The results of school climate surveys administered in the schools over the past three years indicate substantial changes in a number of areas including parent and student involvement, attachment to the school, staff morale, job satisfaction, educational expectations, and student self-concept. Other indicators of student success suggest encouraging trends in student standardized test scores, improvements in attendance, and a reduction in retention rates. In summary, these results strongly suggest that changes in the environment of these schools have occurred.

It seems important to stress that this is a purely descriptive study. The presentation of findings has focused only on what has occurred in this set of schools after SBM had been introduced. Much more rigorous experimental designs would need to be employed before cause and effect relationships may be implied; that is not the intent of this article.

There are many areas in which the investigation of the impact of implementing SBM could be expanded. Certainly, a larger, more diverse sample of schools would allow broader generalization of results. Also, these schools have been implementing SBM for three years; a longer time frame might be necessary to address the longer-term outcomes.

In terms of student outcomes, future studies might address other student learning assessment measures, particularly because so many school districts are developing alternative assessment measures. Finally, additional attention to student engagement in learning might also be helpful.

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A Model of Strategic Principal Communication During Performance Evaluations

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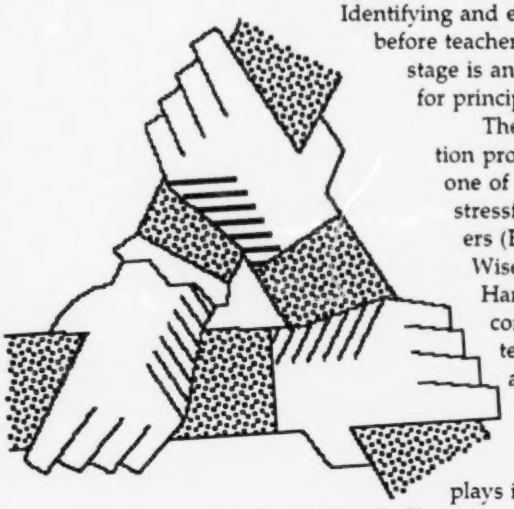
It is often argued that public school teaching has become a more difficult and stressful occupation. A number of reasons has been advanced for the difficult nature of teaching, including students' lack of discipline, diminished parental support, low pay, stress, burnout, and lack of respect for teachers. Additionally, the principal-teacher relationship is often cited as a source of low teacher satisfaction (Eskridge & Coker, 1985; Gupta, 1981), but it has not been studied extensively enough to yield useful prescriptive information. This lack of research is particularly noticeable for one of the more stressful occupational events for teachers—the performance evaluation conducted by principals.

Teacher stress has many negative effects. The highest stressors for teachers appear to be interpersonal relationships in the workplace (Eskridge & Coker, 1985), with the building principal playing a critical role in teacher stress and job performance (Gupta, 1981). Teacher stress has been linked to low pupil-teacher rapport (Petrusich, 1966), pupil anxiety (Doyal & Forsyth, 1973), poor classroom management (Kaiser & Polczynski, 1982), and low pupil achievement (Forman, 1982; Kaiser & Polczynski, 1982; Washbourne & Heil, 1960). Left unchecked, high stress levels lead to teacher burnout, which results in teachers' lack of caring and concern for students. Unfortunately, recovering from burnout is virtually impossible. Identifying and eliminating stressors before teachers reach the burnout stage is an important challenge for principals.



The performance evaluation process is reputed to be one of the most critical and stressful activities for teachers (Eskridge & Coker, 1985; Wise & Darling-Hammond, 1985). With continuing emphasis on teacher competence and accountability, many states reinforce the importance performance evaluation plays in the improvement of instructional effectiveness. Intrinsically related to the process of teacher evaluation is the principal-teacher relationship and the communication parameters it sets for performance evaluation. Meaningful and satisfactory communication between principal and teacher is thought to help reduce stress (Eskridge & Coker, 1985), thus producing more effective teaching results (Forman, 1982).

It is important to examine how teachers perceive communication by the principal during performance evaluation. This article describes factors responsible for teacher stress, teachers' preferred styles of communication during preobservation conferences, and adapting principals' styles of communication to reduce teacher stress and thus improve teaching. The Model of Strategic Principal Communication during Performance Evaluation illustrates key communication factors influencing teacher stress during the evaluation process and describes communication strategies available for reducing teacher stress. Specifically, this article is designed to link research and practice by reporting results of a research study focusing on principals' effective communication during teacher evaluation, by developing a functional model that applies research results, and by suggesting guidelines for school administrators to improve communication and reduce stress during performance evaluations. This organizational format provides the theoretical framework for the model, which in turn aids school administrators in identifying and accepting guidelines for successful teacher-principal communication during performance evaluations. Without a sound theoretical and applied research base, administrators would ask, "Why is one communication strategy better for a particular teacher or situation than another?" Applying communication theory and research to the evaluation setting helps principals address this question.

The Study

In order to better understand the principal-teacher communication process during preobservation conferences, several key variables are identified through the literature and later manipulated in the study design. Key variables include **teacher occupational stress** (professional inadequacy, principal/teacher professional relationship, collegial relationships, group instruction, and job overload); **principal message variables** (information adequacy, locus of control, and leadership type), and **teacher perception variables** (gender, experience, and school level). After key variables and procedures are discussed, a visual representation of factors influencing teacher-principal communication during performance evaluation is developed as a model for linking research and practice.

Teacher Occupational Stress Variables

Stressors that teachers experience as a result of the workplace are numerous. Five major categories emerge from the literature. Each is described briefly.

Professional inadequacy. Many teachers feel stress associated with the teaching profession itself. For example, salary is viewed as one inadequacy of the profession. Beginning teachers may witness that some of their college classmates who majored in business take positions in the corporate world with salaries that may double their own. In addition to gaining monetary benefits, the business graduate will rarely face the stressful scrutiny of teacher competency testing or in-depth performance evaluations. Rather, the business graduate receives greater opportunities for advancement, a positive environment in which to work, and sizeable raises and benefits. Teachers, on the other hand, work in less positive environments that are often frustrating and depressing. Instead of receiving opportunities for advancement and benefits, teachers face an increase in public demands and a simultaneous decline in parental and community support. As a prerequisite to educating students of the 1990s, resolving societal problems (e.g., single parent homes, child poverty, violence) becomes the first step toward ensuring children are ready to learn. This is an impossible demand on teachers, serving to escalate teacher stress.

Teacher-principal professional relationships. The highest stress levels for teachers appear in the area of interpersonal relationships that involve teachers' relationships with principals, colleagues, and students (Eskridge & Coker, 1985; O'Hair, 1987). Teachers view principals as misunderstanding curriculum and instructional issues, and teachers often feel by-passed when it comes to major decisions in their area of expertise—the instructional program (Galen, 1987). Teachers feel that principals lack qualifications to evaluate effectively their classroom performance and make suggestions for improvement. In addition, teachers feel that most principals cannot cope with the classroom situations in which teachers operate on a daily basis (Eskridge & Coker, 1985).

Interestingly, a reciprocal stress relationship between principals and teachers exists. Principals feel their greatest amount of stress involves communicating with teachers. Researchers surveyed more than 1,200 school principals and reported that out of 48 events examined, the five most stressful for principals were 1) forcing the resignation or dismissal of teachers, 2) dealing with unsatisfactory performance of teachers, 3) dealing with involuntary transfer to another principalship, 4) preparing for a teachers' strike, and 5) handling the refusal of teachers to follow policies (Koff, Laffey, Olson, & Cichon, 1979-1980). Principal-teacher relationships are especially stressful in the context of teacher performance evaluation.

Collegial relationships. Teachers are encouraged to work cooperatively with their peers to improve the instructional program. As appropriate as this goal appears, it may not be achievable due to several factors. First, teachers report that theirs is a very lonely profession. Most teachers are isolated from other adults and do not have time during the school day to observe colleagues teach or plan cooperatively.

Second, the merit pay and career ladder plans have had repercussions on teacher collaboration and cooperation. In states offering monetary and other benefits for teaching excellence, it does not pay to share creative ideas with colleagues. This practice hinders the development of beginning teachers who need assistance from experienced teachers and reduces instructional effectiveness of schools. On the other hand, observing mediocre and poor teachers receive the same salary and benefits as exemplary teachers may increase the stress associated with collegial relationships.

Group instruction. Teaching students with varying ability levels is not a new phenomenon. The difference for teachers now working with students of diverse abilities is that many parents and principals insist that instruction appear essentially the same as they recall it when they were in school. Most successful parents of the 1990s remember schools in the 1960s and 1970s and demand that teachers teach as they were taught. After all, didn't they, the parents, turn out all right as products of these schools?

Parents and educators must realize that students graduating in the year 2000 will live in a different society. Preparing students for the 21st century requires changes in group instruction that parents often adamantly oppose. For example, rather than being assigned a mathematics textbook, students may be taught problem-solving skills using interactive video and computers. However, parents demand that students have a mathematics textbook and foster the attitude that "Students cannot learn without a book!" In addition to external pressures to teach like their predecessors, teachers find other group instruction stressors to include classroom discipline problems and unmotivated student learners.

Job overload. The feeling experienced by many teachers of "never completing work" increases stress. Additional stress is experienced as increasingly teachers are given the responsibility of nonteaching duties: developing budgets, attending school improvement meetings, developing curriculum, and recruiting and selecting teaching personnel. There are several reasons for feeling "overloaded." First, reflecting the school restructuring, site-based management movement, many principals give teachers new duties but neglect the skills training necessary to successfully accomplish new tasks. Secondly, principals must remember to give teachers the authority to accomplish the task while maintaining the responsibility. This is a difficult concept for most supervisors to grasp and implement. It is much easier to give away responsibility while maintaining authority. However, teachers must feel free to make risky decisions and know that their principals support them. This knowledge reduces stress associated with job overload.

By understanding the key elements that produce teacher stress, principals are better equipped to monitor their communication during the stressful performance evaluation. The next component affecting principal-teacher communication during preobservation conferences involves principal message variables.

. . . the kind and amount of information a principal is willing to give and the kind and amount desired by teachers may not always be consistent.

Principal Message Variables

Communication research contends that messages convey information (content level) and simultaneously define the communicator's relational level (Stohl & Redding, 1987; Watzlawick, Beavin, & Jackson, 1967). Within a functional approach to communication, individuals are typically viewed as intentional agents who actively create their environments. Miller (1972) characterizes organizations as functional interrelationships, coordinated by communication. From this perspective messages are seen to be more than mechanisms through which predetermined actions are exhibited; messages serve to define the system itself (Stohl & Redding, 1987). In this research, principal message variables defining the teacher performance evaluation system stem from the content (information adequacy) and environmental (locus of control) orientation levels of interaction. As defined in this study, principal message strategies refer to the amount of specific information disclosed by the principal and the locus of control orientation, assumed as either internal or external.

Information adequacy. The amount of information an employee receives about work-related activities has been referred to as information adequacy (Penley, 1982; Spiker & Daniels, 1981). Information adequacy consists of "message quality" dimensions such as relevance, timeliness, comprehensiveness, and usability, as well as "credibility," "redundancy," and "logical validity" (Stohl & Redding, 1987, p. 493). Similarly, Goldhaber and Rogers (1979) have suggested that information adequacy is best represented by the perceptual discrepancy between the information employees wish to receive and the information they actually receive. Drawing upon a study by Jablin (1982), Krone, Jablin, and Putnam (1987, p. 26) described employees as "sophisticated information processors whose conceptual filters (for example, self-concept, perceptions of locus of control, self-monitoring predispositions, and work expectations) affect the occupational and organizational information they seek, interpret, and act upon." Teachers' feelings about themselves and their perceptions of job expectations affect the amount of specific information sought, received, processed, and remembered. While teachers obtain information about their job from several sources, a critical source of information is the principal. Obviously, the kind and amount of information a principal is willing to give and the kind and amount desired by teachers may not always be consistent.

Goldhaber and Rogers (1979) suggest a direct relationship between information adequacy and job satisfaction. Furthermore, Bruning and Snyder (1983) found specific elements of information adequacy (supervisory information and performance evaluation information) to be related to organizational commitment. Trombetta and Rogers (1988) found information adequacy to be an effective predictor of organizational commitment and job satisfaction. Thus, information adequacy should be important to teacher satisfaction with principal communication, particularly during performance evaluation. However, the exact nature of the informational needs of teachers is not known, nor is information available that would predict which teachers have specific information requirements.

Locus of control. Locus of control refers to how an individual perceives that life events are determined by one's own behavior (internals) or by the external environment (externals) (Rotter, 1966; Watson, 1982). Presumably, the construction of messages should reflect the important characteristics associated with internal and external locus of control orientations. For example, internals are expected to be more resistant to persuasion attempts, while externals are less resistant (Lamude, Daniels, & White, 1987); internals are more power-oriented, while externals are less power-oriented (Berger, 1985); internals are more influenced by participative leadership, and externals respond better to autocratic leadership (Watson, 1982), and internals are influenced more by personal persuasion, while externals can be persuaded by coercive means (Goodstadt & Hjelle, 1973).

While popular in behavioral science research as a whole, relatively few of the well over 600 studies on locus of control are related to attitudinal, motivational, and behavioral variables in educational settings (O'Hair, 1991; Spector, 1982). Although locus of control orientations of teachers and principals have not been examined extensively, it is reasonable to assume that differing orientations can impact the effectiveness and satisfaction of principal-teacher relationships. More specifically, while there is research available in the business community that portrays internal supervisors as more persuasive than external supervisors and describes supervisor persuasiveness as positively related to subordinate satisfaction with supervision (Johnson, Luthans, & Hennessey, 1984), it is unclear whether such relationships would be obtained in public school settings with teachers responding to principals' evaluation messages. In light of the current literature and in order to operationalize internal and external locus of control concepts, internal principals are characterized as having a democratic leadership style, whereas external principals demonstrate an authoritarian leadership style.

Teacher Perception Variables

According to the literature, teacher perception variables influencing communication during performance evaluations are gender, experience, and school level. Each is described briefly.

Gender. The public school, typically a male-dominated institution catering to male philosophies and needs, appears to be a major source of stress and alienation to females due to role conflicts (Calabrese & Anderson, 1986). Cappella (1985) describes the power structure in many organizations as characterizing women as bearing "the false reputation of being the talkative ones while at the same time suffering the powerlessness of being the least participative with mostly male colleagues in decision making. . . . When job and advancement depend upon a positive social image, the inability to participate can be an overwhelming barrier to personal and professional development" (p. 402). Female teachers often find themselves in school districts with male administrators and little, if any, chance for organizational input or career advancement. The effect of gender differences on principal communication preferences during performance evaluation has not been examined previously.

Upon closer examination, most male teachers tend to have a more authoritarian orientation than their female counterparts, and studies have found that authoritarian teachers were characterized as experiencing more stress and tension than nonauthoritarian teachers (Harris, Halpin, & Halpin, 1985; O'Hair & Wright, 1990). However, male teachers may respond more positively than female teachers to male principals who adopt an authoritarian communication style during performance evaluations. In addition to this difference, females are more likely to choose positive and negative expertise appeals (DeTurck & Miller, 1982), whereas males rely on promises and threats significantly more than females (Seibold, Cantrill, & Meyers, 1985). These findings may be transferrable to female and male teacher preferences for principal communication, in that females prefer more democratic messages and males more authoritarian ones.

Other teacher variables that influence perceptions include teacher age and teachers working with special populations (English as a second language or special education). Higher teacher stress levels are found in teachers in the 31-44 age range (Eskridge & Coker, 1985) and teachers working with ESL or bilingual students (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). Also, teacher variables such as experience and school level (elementary, junior high/middle, and senior high) may impact teacher stress and teacher preferred communication during performance evaluation.

Methodology and Procedures

Since we know that most teachers consider performance evaluation highly critical (some view it as stressful), they likely have very definitive ideas about how principals should speak to them during conferences. However, due to the varying conditions in which teachers and principals find themselves, they may differ in their specific preferences for message strategies employed during evaluation. Roloff & Janiszewski (1989) describe language as a means to accomplish goals. Messages should be constructed to overcome obstacles to the achievement of interpersonal objectives. Based on teacher preferences for principal communication, principals would be better equipped to tailor and alter their messages during performance evaluation.

Participants. One hundred and sixty-one teachers participating in this study were drawn from two states in the Southwest. Two school districts were utilized in this sample, both of which bordered Mexico. Six sites were utilized for data collection consisting of three randomly selected schools (elementary, middle, and high) per school district. Current teaching assignments included elementary (39%), junior high/middle (40%), and senior high school (21%). Teachers ranged in age from 22 to over 65 with many (49%) between the ages of 31 and 44. Of the 161 teachers sampled, 107 were female and 54 were male. Their teaching experience ranged from 1 to 20 plus years with more than one-third (39%) between 11 and 20 years.

Variables

The design of this study employed two dependent variables (teacher preferences and teacher stress) and two independent measures (principal message strategies and demographic factors). The dependent measures consisted of rating and evaluating items used to determine teacher preferences for principal communication message strategies and scores from the *Teacher Occupational Stress Questionnaire* (Clark, 1980; Halpin, Harris, & Halpin, 1985). The principal variables were manipulated within a videotape stimulus, as described later in this study.

Principal message strategy. Message strategies refer to the principal's verbalized statements made to a teacher when discussing the teacher's performance evaluation plan. Four levels of principal message strategies were manipulated: (1) democratic style/high information, (2) democratic style/low information, (3) authoritarian style/low information, (4) authoritarian style/high information. These strategies were selected based on previous research (Farkas, 1983; Halpin et al., 1985; Harris et al., 1985). Each strategy was presented to the sample of teachers in the form of four videotaped scenarios lasting 2.5 minutes. Each scenario depicted a principal describing the district's teacher performance evaluation plan in a preobservation conference.

Message strategy scenarios differed in the following manner: (1) *Democratic/high information.* This message strategy gave the majority of the control for the evaluation to the teachers and encouraged reflective analysis. The principal asked the teachers to state the specific objectives that they wanted the principal to observe, give a specific date and class hour for the evaluation, write their own impressions of the evaluation, and evaluate the evaluator as well as themselves. In addition, the principal divulged a high degree of district evaluation information to the teachers. For example, the goals and objectives of the district and detailed instructions for optimal teaching behaviors to be observed in the classroom were given. (2) *Democratic/low information.* This message strategy demonstrated a principal who reflected a low amount of authoritarianism (as in #1), but communicated a minimum amount of evaluation information regarding district policy and specific teaching behaviors to be observed. The principal tended to focus on a more global instructional climate concerning teacher evaluation and education in general. (3) *Authoritarian/high information.* This message strategy centered on a principal who authoritatively dictated exactly which behaviors they would be observing, the date and class hour of the observation, and the evaluation instrument to be used. A high degree of information concerning the evaluation process was given (as in #1). (4) *Authoritarian/low information.* This message strategy involved a principal who communicated authoritatively (as in #3) and provided a minimum amount of information (as in #2).

Teacher preferences. One dependent variable was a measure of teachers' preferences for principal message strategies during evaluation, a preference rating approach employed in social science research by several authors (Jablin, 1978; O'Hair, 1986; Stull, 1975). A 10-item, 1-4 Likert preference scale was completed by the teachers immediately following each scenario.

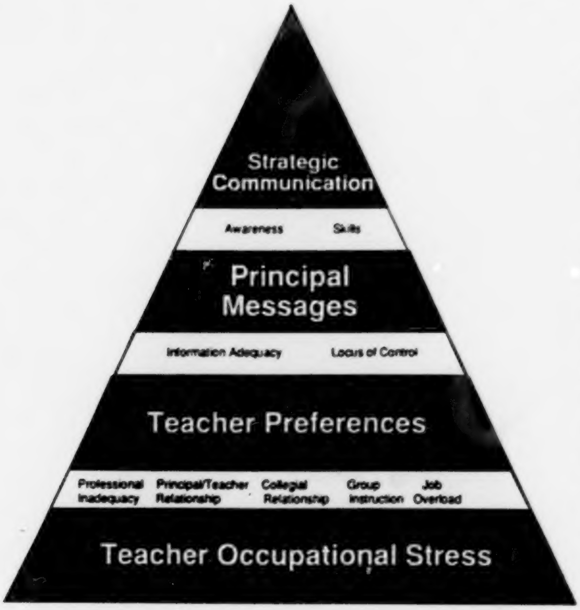
Procedure. After obtaining permission from principals and teachers, the experimenter asked each teacher to view the four videotaped preobservation conferences and to complete a preference rating scale after each one. Upon completing the fourth interview, teachers were asked to complete the *Teacher Occupational Stress Questionnaire.* Order of the four scenarios was alternated to avoid any response biases due to order effects.

Model of Strategic Principal Communication During Performance Evaluation

Results are discussed through examination of a working model designed to aid practicing administrators in analyzing their own communication style and in adopting flexible communication styles during the teacher evalu-

Figure 1

MODEL OF STRATEGIC PRINCIPAL COMMUNICATION DURING PERFORMANCE EVALUATIONS


Strategic Communication
Awareness
Skills
Principal Messages
Information Adequacy
Locus of Control
Teacher Preferences
Professional Inadequacy
Principal/Teacher Relationship
Collegial Relationship
Group Instruction
Job Overload
Teacher Occupational Stress

ation process. Key factors influencing effective principal-teacher communication during the performance evaluation process include: teacher occupational stress, teacher preferred communication, principal messages, and adaptability.

Results of this study suggest that teachers desire principals to use a message style that stresses the communication style (authoritarian vs democratic) rather than content (information). Overall, teachers rated principal message strategies with democratic orientations significantly more favorably regardless of the amount of information disseminated. However, some differences did occur. (See Table 1.)

1. **Gender**—Females demonstrated a greater preference for democratic strategies than did males, and males reported greater preference for authoritarian strategies than did females. These results may suggest that females are more definitive in their expectations and desires for supervisory communication, especially during performance evaluation. Males tended to allow a greater range of locus of control strategies than did females.

2. **Age**—Several interaction effects were present for Age X Gender. For example, young

Table 1
Analysis of Variance Procedures for Teacher Preferences*

Independent Variable		Evaluation Conference	*F*	*df*	*p > F*
A.	GENDER (Females)	Low Information/ Democratic	9.71	1	.002
B.	GENDER (Females)	High Information/ Democratic	10.11	1	.002
C.	AGE (45-65) (26-30)	Low Information/ Authoritarian	2.59	3	.005
D.	AGE X GENDER (Young Females)	Low Information/ Democratic	2.83	7	.008
E.	AGE X GENDER (Older Females)	High Information/ Democratic	2.95	7	.006
F.	SCHOOL (High School)	High Information/ Authoritarian	10.27	2	.001
G.	SCHOOL (High School)	Low Information/ Authoritarian	3.90	2	.020

*Only those ANOVA tests that were significant.

female teachers preferred low information and democratic strategies, whereas older females preferred high information and democratic strategies. In general, age groups of 45-65 and 26-30 preferred low information and authoritarian strategies.

3. **School level**—High school teachers preferred authoritarian strategies regardless of the amount of information. Female teachers at all three school levels (elementary, junior high, and high school) preferred high information and democratic strategies.

It is noteworthy that information adequacy did not play as large a role in preference ratings for principal behavior as may have been expected. This may suggest that a weaker relationship exists between information adequacy and message preferences than once thought. Teachers seem more concerned about being allowed to personally control aspects of their environment than in obtaining more specific information. Teachers may be more confident about themselves and the system and require less external confirmation, or as the stress results indicate (See Table 2), they already experience job overload and desire no additional information. Furthermore, given that performance evaluation is a very important process in the career of a teacher, allowing others (e.g., principals, school boards) to dictate the entire process would be quite undesirable.

. . . principals must be sensitive to teacher stress and target their communication based on stress components and demographics.

Table 2
Analysis of Variance Procedures for Teacher Occupation Stress*

Independent Variable		Stress Component	*F*	*df*	$p > F$
A.	AGE	Professional Inadequacy	2.87	4	.025
B.	GENDER	Principal/ Teacher Relationship	3.68	1	.050
C.	GENDER	Group Instruction	6.32	1	.010
D.	GENDER	Job Overload	10.96	1	.001
E.	SCHOOL	Job Overload	6.50	2	.002
F.	SCHOOL GENDER	Job Overload	4.66	5	.001

*Only those ANOVA tests that were significant.

A. Young teachers (26-30) scored higher stress levels associated with Professional Inadequacy than older teachers (45-65).

B. Female teachers scored higher stress levels associated with Principal-Teacher Relationship than male teachers.

C. Female teachers scored higher stress levels associated with Group Instruction than male teachers.

D. Female teachers scored higher stress levels associated with Job Overload than male teachers.

E. Elementary teachers, followed closely by high school teachers, scored higher stress levels associated with job overload than junior high teachers.

F. Female high school and elementary teachers scored higher stress levels associated with job overload than male junior high teachers.

Results from the teacher-stress questionnaire support that teachers experience different stress levels based on gender, age, and school level. In general, females report higher stress levels than males regarding principal-teacher relationships, group instruction, and job overload. Elementary and high school teachers report higher stress levels than junior high teachers regarding job overload. During the performance evaluation process, principals must be sensitive to teacher stress and target their communication based on stress components and demographics.

Guidelines for Principals

Based on current research and the results of this study, several guidelines for principal communication seem warranted:

1. **Adopt a supportive climate**—Although principal leadership styles can and do vary, a major priority of principals in successful schools involves a deep concern for quality of classroom instruction. This awareness and concern requires that principals support and evaluate instructional programs, and, more importantly, instructional staff—teachers. The key concept is "a supportive climate" in which to assess teacher performance. If the principal adopts an authoritarian leadership style that is void of humanistic qualities, teachers (especially female elementary teachers) respond by seeing themselves in an ambiguous position relative to the principal. Feiman-Nemser and Floden (1986) describe the evaluation atmosphere as one in which teachers typically see the principal as incapable of adequately assessing their classroom instruction and practices. Moreover, teachers resent observations on an infrequent basis by a principal who knows little about what goes on day to day in a given classroom. Authoritarian principals tend only to perpetuate this belief. Giving teachers more control over the evaluation process would seem to promote a supportive climate.

The key concept is "a supportive climate" in which to assess teacher performance.

2. **Focus on style**—The preference for leadership style supersedes any desire by teachers for specific information concerning performance evaluation criteria. As described earlier, style preferences may vary depending on differing demographic variables. It is style rather than content that is viewed important by teachers in preobservation conferences. This finding is surprising because approximately one-half of the teachers participating in the study teach in a career-ladder state. Advancement on the career ladder is based to a great extent on performance ratings by principals; however, specific information concerning evaluation criteria was not viewed as significantly important.

3. **Analyze audience needs**—Analyzing the audience is crucial in interpersonal communication just as it is in public speaking. Principals must analyze carefully the teachers and their needs and decide which teacher needs can be met without compromising school and district objectives. Often, teachers will have several needs and, in order to determine and address the most basic needs, principals may examine Maslow's *Heirarchy of Needs* (1954). By relating information and style to the lowest level of teacher needs—physiological needs, safety needs, social needs, esteem needs, and self-actualization needs—teacher job satisfaction increases and teacher stress declines. For example, for status-seeking teachers, principals link improvement in teaching performance to prestige and recognition from others. For security-seeking teachers, principals connect job and financial security to teaching performance and evaluation. The results of this investigation allow principals to make accurate assessments of teacher preferences in communication and discover personal needs teachers seek to satisfy. Ultimately, satisfying teacher needs helps reduce stress and improve instruction.

4. **Develop nonverbal communication competency**—Principals who are skillful in both verbal and nonverbal communication are considered competent communicators. Specifically, principals must examine not only *what* they say to teachers but *how* they say it. Approximately 70-80% of a message is sent nonverbally, and whenever verbal and nonverbal messages contradict, people tend to believe the nonverbal message (Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1989; Mehrabian, 1981). For example, a principal frowns while saying that the teacher is making significant progress in the area of classroom management. The teacher may be skeptical, based on the principal's facial expression. Awareness of nonverbal communication allows principals to accurately assess teacher attitudes and stress during the evaluation process. Key nonverbal components include: **paralanguage** (involves aspects of verbal communication that are unrelated to the words used), **facial expression, eye and visual behavior, gesture and body movement,** and **space** (personal space involving how close individuals stand or sit when communicating and environmental space involving the construction and manipulation of physical space). Principals must monitor nonverbal communication carefully.

5. **Adapt to communication preferences**—Last and perhaps most important, principals should recognize that individual preferences for message strategies do exist and adopt appropriate leadership styles during the evaluation process. Functionally speaking, perspective-taking and the ability to adapt messages to listener characteristics are important components to communication effectiveness (Delia, O'Keefe, & O'Keefe, 1982; Stohl & Redding, 1987; Sypher & Zorn, 1986). In other words, principals should not treat everyone alike and should be sensitive to teacher stress and demographic differences.

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Charismatic Leadership: Revisited

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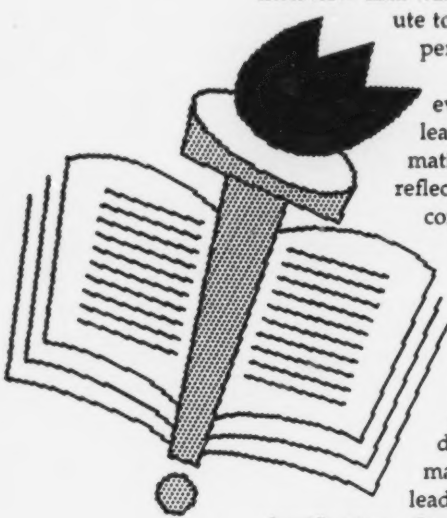
Introduction

Based on the results of the Hall-Tonna Inventory of Values, the future educational leader we will discuss was determined to possess charismatic leadership characteristics. Hall (1986) defines a charismatic leader as one who values collaboration, democratic decision making, and a commitment to institutionally shared mission and values. Likewise, a charismatic leader possesses desirable individual traits, which are difficult to measure, such as courage, strength of character, and trust. It is these traits that encourage others to comply with the leader's vision and to participate in the collaborative decision-making process. That is, it is the inner strength of the leader that empowers others toward action. As Peters (1988) notes, a charismatic leader "exudes mission" (p. 127).

Purpose

The intent of this article is to draw a portrait of an educational leader classified as charismatic. The individual was determined to possess charismatic leadership characteristics by the Hall-Tonna Inventory of Values. This instrument is a forced-choice, computer-scored evaluation which supplies data and information on one's value priorities and leadership characteristics. This leader participated in the Metro-Houston Principal Assessment Center where he was evaluated according to 12 generic dimensions considered essential to school leadership. Data from this evaluation, along with the individual's leadership-level characteristics, will be interwoven with a profile of his cognitive style and values to provide a basis for discussion. Interview data will further enrich and contribute to an understanding of his personality.



It is hypothesized that even though this aspiring leader is classified as charismatic, he has values and reflective modes that significantly conflict and cause him to behave in ways decidedly different than those classified as charismatic. In other words, identifying an educational leader as charismatic (or any other type) is both misdirected and misleading, as many other factors do impact leadership characteristics and classifications. Similarly, merely judging one's outward behavior does not always reveal the values and cognitive styles that may enhance, or limit, future success as a school leader. Thus, the best that can be done in developing leadership and assessment programs in educational administration is to construct portraits of educational leaders or potential leaders and use those as a basis for reflection and development.

Method

This study describes the profile of an aspiring school principal who was evaluated in the Metro-Houston Administrator Assessment and Development Center. In addition to the information gleaned from the structured two-day assessment process, additional evaluative data on the subject were received from an interview, a personality and leadership style inventory, and a values assessment. The following instrumentation was used in the development of this case study:

1. *NASSP Assessment Center*—measured principal generic behaviors
2. *Herrmann Brain Dominance Instrument*—measured cognitive processing patterns
3. *Personal Interviews*—evaluated subject's perception of his decision-making approach
4. *Hall-Tonna Inventory of Values*—supplied data on leadership characteristics, as well as a values and ethics profile

NASSP Assessment Center

The NASSP Assessment Center is a nationally validated principal selection process sponsored by the National Association of Secondary Principals (Schmitt & Cohen, 1990). Designed to predict the job performance of aspiring school principals, the assessment consists of 12 skill dimensions selected to be among those most crucial to the fulfillment of the principal's role. These 12 generic skills are classified under four major groupings: Administration, Interpersonal, Communication, and Other Attributes. Particular evaluation emphasis is directed toward the administrative and interpersonal dimensions in determining the assessee's overall rating.

Participants are assessed in a two-day Assessment Center that includes six assessees and six assessors. The process, designed as a simulation of a principal's day, is based on consensus opinions of six assessors. Dimension ratings are based on a 1-5 scale ranging from *no skill* to *an extremely high degree of skill*. Overall ratings include five proficiency levels that predict one's readiness to fulfill the position of school principal. They are:

1. A Poor Candidate
2. A Below Average Candidate
3. An Average Candidate
4. A Very Good Candidate
5. An Outstanding Candidate

Herrmann Brain Dominance Instrument

The Herrmann Brain Dominance Instrument (HBDI) (Herrmann, 1981) is a metaphorical model of cognitive processing based on brain physiology. It represents theory evolving from the split brain surgeries of the 1950s (Sperry, 1964) which provided some physiological basis for a person's hemispheric duality. Basing the cognitive style instrument (HBDI) on this duality, Herrmann (1981) conceptualized a quadrant model of "dominance." The *HBDI* is represented below:

1. *Upper Left*, characterized by a logical, sequential, quantitative style
2. *Lower Left*, characterized by a conservative, organized, safe-keeping style
3. *Lower Right*, characterized by interpersonal, intuitive, emotional style
4. *Upper Right*, characterized by a visionary, holistic, intuitive style

The individual's style preference is reported in a variety of ways. Each quadrant has a raw score (which is converted to a scaled score value). The scale score values determine whether the thought process represented by that quadrant (one's dominance) is:

1. Primary (scaled scores from 67 to 100)
2. Secondary (scaled scores from 34 to 66)
3. Not Used (scaled scores from 3 to 33)

Thus, each individual has within a profile score (dominance code) four separate scores that measure the dominance of each brain quadrant.

In addition to scores provided through the dominance codes, the HBDI also yields a raw score measurement of total right (upper and lower quadrant) and total left (upper and lower quadrant) dominance. Hemispheric dominance is strengthened when the total score for left and right brain hemispheres shows a pronounced difference.

Interview

The subject was interviewed by the researchers after completion of the Assessment Center experience. Questions were directed primarily at the decision-making process(es) the subject employed in the assessment experience; however, reflections on his job-related experiences were also shared. The following questions guided the interviews:

1. What do you think are the characteristics of a competent and successful educational leader?
2. How do you personally go about problem solving in your administrative context?
3. If the principal had to leave the building and gave you ten (10) tasks at 2:15 p.m. on a Friday afternoon, how would you go about prioritizing them?

The Hall-Tonna Inventory of Values

The Hall-Tonna Inventory is a forced-choice, computer-scored instrument that supplies data on one's personal values, process of ethical decision making, and leadership characteristics. The subject completed the Inventory which denoted his "Goal" and "Means" values. Brian Hall (1986) distinguishes between Goal Values, or those which energize an individual and upon which basic commitments are made, and Means Values, or those methods of living out and actualizing the Goal Values. For instance, a Goal Value might be family belonging. Thus, the individual prizes the affirmation, sense of self-esteem, and sense of belonging that a family affords. The family may be the immediate family, the extended family, or the institutional family. The Means Value for living out the Goal Value might be empathy. Thus, the person is able to actualize family belonging by being there for others and by sympathetically projecting another's experience.

As Hall and Thompson (1980) note, individuals bring their personal values to their work situation. If the work situation allows them to further live out and refine their value commitments, values growth occurs. If not, the individual becomes stressed and feels unable to grow and develop. This, of course, hampers efficiency, productivity, and human relationships within the institution.

Finally, Hall (1986) argues that values growth is dependent upon skill development. For example, it is necessary for an individual with the Goal Value of family belonging to have well-developed interpersonal skills. Otherwise, this individual is unable to fully actualize value commitments. Lack of skill development also hampers values growth (Hall, 1986). Hall also notes that leadership can be classified according to specific characteristics. Likewise, leadership development is directly related to values growth and to skill development.

The remainder of this paper will synthesize the data from each instrumentation source and provide a case study.

Case Study

Bill has a multi-dominant cognitive style pattern (1112) characterized by a general distribution of abilities (see Figure 1). Bill's dominance pattern is skewed to the two left modes rather than to the right. The three primary dominance, or preference, modes for Bill are: a) Upper Left, characterized by the analytical, rational, quantitative style (80 Standard Score); Lower Left, the controlled, conservative, organized, and structured mode (81 S.S.), and Lower Right, characterized by interpersonal, emotional, and spiritual thought patterns (125 S.S.). Bill does not exhibit a primary strength in the Upper Right mode, responsible for the visionary, creative, and holistic thought (56 S.S.) considered to be primary characteristics of the charismatic leader (Hall, 1986). He does, however, have a secondary dominance indicating that he can exercise this skill, even though he may prefer other modes.

Bill's strongest quadrant is the Lower Right mode (125 S.S.), where he exhibits an unusually strong ability. This area is so strong, in fact, that it appears to give the total Right Score (120 R.S.) a decided advantage over the Left (107 R.S.). Under normal circumstances, Bill would lean toward the Lower Right strength when given a choice over his three dominance areas. In other words, relationships, sensitivity, and aesthetics would take precedence over task and structure. However, since Bill has a strong dominance in both left modes, the tendency toward task could counter this relationship preference and cause Bill to be more concerned with the job than with people involved.

Since Bill thinks in a linear mode and emphasizes structure and a step-by-step approach to problem solving, (Upper Left, 80 S.S.; Lower Left, 81 S.S.) he sometimes fails to see the big picture or to think holistically (Upper Right, 56 S.S.). Although his intentions are good and he desires to benefit those he leads (Lower Right, 125 S.S.), his lessened ability to visualize and conceptualize new pathways may limit his effectiveness. He will fail to see the relationship of the parts to the whole, thereby becoming focused on segmented problems. Unless he develops his conceptual skills more fully, there is little likelihood he will become a visionary principal.

Bill's self description is primarily left hemisphered (i.e., logical, conservative, controlled, and factual). He acknowledges his right hemispheric qualities as musical, verbal, spiritual, and intuitive.

Bill's dominance pattern is consistent with individuals whose occupations are managerial in nature (particularly those of a technical nature) or which have high administrative content. In both, the emphasis is on structure, precision, and maintenance of the organization in its present state.

Figure 1
Participant Brain Dominance Style
Herrmann Brain Dominance Survey Tabulation

Brain Dominance Code**	Total *Raw Scores* Left/Right	*Scaled S.* Upper Left Quadrant*	*Scaled S.* Lower Left Quadrant*	*Scaled S.* Lower Right Quadrant*	*Scaled S.* Upper Right Quadrant*
1112	107/120	80	81	125	56
		1	1	1	2

**Upper Left Quadrant:* logical, sequential, quantitative
**Lower Left Quadrant:* conservative, organized, safe-keeping
**Lower Right Quadrant:* interpersonal, intuitive, emotional
**Upper Right Quadrant:* visionary, holistic, intuitive

**Indicates Dominance
1 = Primary (Scaled Score *67* to *100*)
2 = Secondary (Scaled Score *34* to *66*)
3 = Not Used (Scaled Score below *33*)

Relationship of Thought Pattern to NASSP Assessment Skills

Bill was ranked by the NASSP six-member assessor team as an average to below average candidate for the principalship. He scored in the moderate range in Organizational Ability (Figure 2), which is consistent with his strong *HBDI* (Figure 1) Lower Left score (81 S.S.). The areas of Problem Analysis and Judgment were both ranked as "less than moderate skill." It is interesting to note that Bill's strong analytical skill (Upper Left, 80 S.S.; Lower Left, 81 S.S.) and his preference for logical systematic thought seem to be directed toward the parts rather than the whole. Bill's lesser tendency to exercise his global thinking (Upper Right, 56 S.S.) limits his ability to see the total picture, and, therefore, hampers his ability to analyze the total issue and to see relationships. This left-hemispheric mode is reflected in Bill's lowered scores in Judgment (exercising priority and caution) and Problem Analysis (examination of issues before making decisions). His sequential mode of problem solving inhibits his ability to see relationships, and, to some degree, lowers his effectiveness in Organizational Ability as well (since he does not relate issues or group items for efficiency).

Figure 2
Participant Performance Summary
Metro-Houston Administrator Assessment
and Development Center

I. *Administrative Skills*
  1. Problem Analysis—little*
  2. Judgment—less than moderate
  3. Organizational Ability—moderate
  4. Decisiveness—more than high

II. *Interpersonal Skills*
  1. Leadership—moderate
  2. Sensitivity—more than moderate
  3. Stress Tolerance—moderate

III. *Communication Skills*
  1. Oral—moderate
  2. Written—little

IV. *Other Attributes*
  1. Range of interest—moderate to high
  2. Personal Motivation—more than moderate
  3. Educational Values—moderate

*Indicates degree of skill observed.

Bill's potential strength could center in the realm of human relations. This is certainly evidenced by his high *HBDI* Lower Right mode (125 S.S.) and is consistent with his higher rankings in the Assessment Center (Figure 2) in Sensitivity (more than moderate), articulation of Educational Values (moderate), and Personal Motivation (more than moderate).

Bill will need to develop his ability to view situations from their total perspective, to search for relationships between things, and to examine "what is" in light of "what could be" if he wishes to make a difference in the lives of those whose welfare he values. Otherwise, his inclination for conservatism, order, and sequential thought will tend to perpetuate an existing order, which may not be morally and ethically appropriate for the very populations he wishes to serve.

Interview: Bill

Bill's tendency to think in a more narrow, sequential fashion, as evidenced by his Upper Left (80 S.S.) and Lower Left (81 S.S.) dominance on the *HBDI* is not only reflected in his lowered Assessment Center ratings in Problem Analysis (little degree of skill) and Judgment (less than moderate), but is also pronounced in his interview responses. Bill expressed a "need to be consistent" and "to make decisions fairly and the same for everyone." He described how he might approach a series of tasks "look[ing] through them . . . for those that relate to the community . . . work on the items I can deal with and make a wait list."

Problems, Bill feels, should be handled at the appropriate time. He insisted that "mood is important" and stated that "there are many days when I need to handle easy administrative tasks first. If you start with the hard ones, it sets a negative tone for the entire day." He later stated, however, "Never deal with tough issues at the end of the day."

Bill's desire to be decisive and consistent in his decision making was evidenced in his behavior in the Assessment Center. Decisiveness was ranked as "more than high" (Figure 2). Bill's strong pull toward conservatism (Figure 1; *HBDI*, Lower Left 125 S.S.), coupled with his lowered ability to visualize and conceptualize new directions (Upper Right, 56 S.S.) suggest that he will commit himself to final decisions that are "safe" and consistent with the way things have always been done. These decisions may often be made without consideration of related issues and may reflect poor judgment.

This same pattern of rigidity is noted in Bill's interpersonal relationships, even though his desire to be responsive is evidenced by his high Lower Right dominance (125 S.S.) and "more than moderate" Sensitivity rating in the Assessment Center (Figure 2). Bill talked of "having to adjust" to the "Eastern people" who had become part of his school community. He expressed his frustration by saying, "Christian Western values are integral in what I do. I need to become more adjusted to others. I need to become less shocked by behavior I don't understand. I should become more understanding."

Goals and Means Values: Bill

Bill's Value Clusters are as follows:

Goals Values (out of a possible 1.00)		*Means Values*	
Family Belonging	1.00	Empathy	.75
Confidence in Work	.80	Freedom/Expressiveness	.60
Insight	.60	Personal Authority	.60
Service	.60		

. . . a strong emphasis on family belonging is incongruent with charismatic leadership characteristics.

Although empathy is integral to family belonging, too much freedom and expressiveness is not. In fact, the emphasis on the Means Values of freedom can detract from the personal relationships demanded in a family situation, in the context of either a personal family or institution. Likewise, personal authority as a Means Value can conflict with charismatic leadership characteristics, as Bill's values regarding freedom, personal expressiveness, and personal authority all tend to make him an autocratic and independent leader. These Means Values do reinforce his Goal Value of service, but not in a democratic mode. Likewise, family belonging, with the need for approval and affirmation, can make his leadership style too dependent on the approval of others. Put differently, a strong emphasis on family belonging is incongruent with charismatic leadership characteristics.

Bill, then, would benefit from getting in touch with his ethical conflicts, namely, the incongruence between the approval (conservative) mode of institutional existence—with its emphasis on doing things the way they always were done, not upsetting the apple cart—and his value of being there for others, serving others, listening to others, accepting others, and helping others grow, which are integral both to his value of service and his leadership characteristics. This same conflict is present in his cognitive style (Figure 1) with the strong logical, conservative tendencies of left hemispheric dominance (Upper Left, 80 S.S.; Lower Left, 81 S.S.) in opposition to his strong Lower Right dominance (125 S.S.), characterized by interpersonal awareness and sensitivity.

Bill especially needs to confront his possible anger and frustration in work situations and to develop skills to handle anger and failure, lest he revert to an autocratic form of leadership. He also needs a support team to share personal feelings in an OBJECTIVE way. His observation of himself as being more concerned with efficiency rather than with creativity and group participation can be a sign of personal difficulty for him. Likewise, if he notices he is basing decisions on group opinion (trying to please others so as to belong to the family or the institution), rather than on democratic processes and a personal, conscious set of values, this will warn him that he needs to pay attention to making his ethical framework and leadership style more consistent with his values.

Summary

As has been noted, as an educational leader, Bill has a charismatic leadership profile. Although he values participatory or democratic decision making, he has a tendency to be independent. This conflict is inherent in a charismatic leader who, after all, is valued by others on account of his individual or idiosyncratic traits, behaviors, or characteristics.

Put differently, there is a point in the life of this educational leader when his value focus is clearer than at other times, as imaginal and systems skills are releasing new energy. This educational leader, then, is developing new ways of viewing the Self within the context of institutional and leadership responsibilities.

The skills necessary for leadership development at this point involve moving from an intrapersonal approach to problem solving and interaction to a systems orientation that perceives the whole initially, and the parts in relationship to the whole. Thus, such skills as systems management, small group facilitation, goal setting, and climate and stress management are important—as the natural tendency of a charismatic leader is to become overly independent due to over-commitment.

What we have stressed, then, is that the mere designation of a particular leadership classification, be it an autocratic or a charismatic leader, is not very useful until other factors and information are available, such as the individual's Goal and Means Value commitments, modes of problem solving, and cognitive thought patterns. The approach taken in this study is that a more holistic approach to educational leadership is necessary in order for schools to become places where humans (students, teachers, and administrators) grow and develop.

Implications

1. It is important for prospective educational leaders to examine the congruence of their values. As Hall (1986) argues, lack of values congruence leads to undue stress, which affects productivity, efficiency, and human relationships. One method of examining values convergence is the Values Convergence Statement (Craig & Norris, 1991). This process includes examining one's Goal and Means Values to determine consistency. For instance, if a prospective educational leader values family as a primary Means Value—followed by productivity as the secondary Goal Value—Values congruence seems unlikely. Competition is not the usual means of developing family relationships, either in one's personal family or work situation. Likewise, productivity as a secondary Goal Value may converge with competition but not with a healthy sense of family belonging.

It is enlightening for prospective educational leaders to become aware of possible values conflicts and inconsistencies. Educational leadership preparation programs would perform in a service to both individuals and schools by helping prospective educational leaders recognize when their values conflict and in developing strategies to deal with value incongruities.

2. Educational leadership preparation programs also need to relate the participant's values clusters to leadership characteristics. This information will enable the future educational leader to know which values clusters are harmonious with leadership characteristics, thereby enhancing a more fully functioning educational leader.

3. An exploration of values clusters and leadership characteristics are only two ingredients in a holistic educational leadership preparation program. In fact, information on one's values clusters and leadership characteristics are rather impoverished without additional information on the candidate's modes of thinking and decision making. Actually, a more effective educational leader would need to not only have convergence of values and leadership characteristics, but also consistency and convergence between cognitive style and decision making. As demonstrated by this case study, a charismatic leader, prone to excessive modes of rational thinking, may often find his thinking pattern at odds with the values and characteristics of a visionary leadership style.

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John Dewey and School-Community Relations

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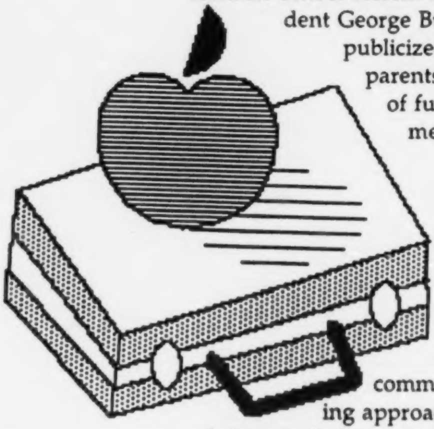
Introduction

In considering the vast number of works by John Dewey, it is curious to note their general lack of direct references to the problem of educational community relations or, as some have referred to the field, public relations. Dewey was actively addressing educational issues from the late nineteenth century until the middle of the twentieth century. West (1985) dates educational public relation efforts to the 1920s. The purpose of this article is to translate Dewey's indirect references into a modern conception of school-community relations.

Nearly every one of Dewey's works presupposes a well thought-out, well organized theory of the importance of the concept of community to the educational process. Dewey called for the involvement of many and varied publics in the life of the school. He emphasized communication in all of his work on education. Dewey believed in planning and emphasized the role of students and teachers in the context of the school and community.

Dewey advocated providing the community with information about its schools. He also wanted the school to obtain and use information about the community. Dewey recognized the importance of public confidence and support for the school and its programs. Moreover, he sought communication with the public to develop a commonality of purpose between the school and community. Such an aim has contemporary relevance. As questionable as his concrete school reform actions may be, President George Bush has made highly publicized statements that place parents squarely in the middle of future school improvements (DeLoughry, 1991).



In his definition of community relations, Dewey would involve and include all the interactions between any element of the school and any element of the community. This encompassing approach to school-community relations includes activities that traditionally fall under the domain of public relations. For Dewey, much as for Loyd D. Andrew, "everyone in the school system has or should have an educational public relations role" (L. D. Andrew, personal communication, March 1991). A recent textbook definition indicates that "Educational public relations is management's systematic, continuous, two-way, honest communication between an education organization and its publics" (Kindred, Bagin, & Gallagher, 1990, p. 15).

This article explores John Dewey's notion of the school in the larger context of the community it serves. It also addresses the following issues:

1. Would Dewey support a school-community relations program involving many publics or would he advocate an educational process dominated by professional educational experts?
2. What objectives would he consider essential to a school-community relations programs?
3. What components would be appropriate to Dewey's school-community relations program?

Dewey and Democracy

Dewey's school-community relations effort would no doubt be grounded in his conception of democracy. At its core, Dewey seemed to believe, democracy is more social than political. Dewey's standard for an authentic and effective democratic community lies in two rhetorical questions he posed: "How numerous and varied are the interests or goals which are consciously shared? How full and free is the interplay with other forms of association?" (Dewey, 1916/1966, p. 96).

Dewey used the good family life to illustrate the standard. In the good family all participate in a variety of intellectual, aesthetic, and materials interests. The progress of one is seen as enriching the experience of others. The limitations of parochialism are overcome by free interactions and relationships with business groups, with schools, and with all the agencies of culture, as well a with other groups. The good family plays a part in the political organization and in return receives support from it (Dewey, 1916/1966).

Dewey embraced the democratic ideal as a way for society to provide for flexible readjustment of its institutions through social interactions and relationships. This is one reason Dewey is properly known as the philosopher of democracy. For Dewey, the devotion of democracy to education was a given fact. In *Democracy and Education* (1916/1966) Dewey explained his conception of the association of democracy with education, as follows: "A democracy is more than a form of

. . . Dewey argued that the school must assume the role of educating the public not only to the needs and programs of the school, but to the needs of the community as well.

government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (Dewey, 1916/1966, p. 101).

Dewey's aspiration was to redesign educational institutions and the workplace so that they would be supportive of democratic values. Dewey believed that the school is primarily a social institution. Dewey said:

> Education being a social process, the school is simply that form of community life in which all those agencies are concentrated that will be most effective in bringing the child to share in the inherited resources of the race, and to use his own powers for social ends....(The) school must represent life, life as real and vital to the child as that which he carries on in the home, in the neighborhood, or on the playground. (Dewey, 1897/1987, p. 631)

Dewey and Community

Since Dewey saw education as a social process, it is fair to say that he saw the school as a common interest of the entire community it served. Dewey recognized the importance of involving many publics in the educational process and in gaining their support for educational change.

Dewey noted that individuals differ with respect to their interest in education. While calling for more individuals and groups to participate in the affairs of the school, he saw the tragic irony of involving those already engendered in the habits of school tradition and convention influencing the course of education. In 1939, he said:

> . . . it appears that its [state of education] improvement cannot be made secure merely by better training of teachers. Parents, school officials, taxpayers have the last word, and the character of that word is dependent upon their education. They may and do block or deflect the best laid plans. That is the circle in which education moves. (Dewey, 1935/1939, p. 605)

Thus Dewey sought an escape from this circle. Therefore, he sought to support a school-community relations program involving many publics and discouraged an educational process dominated by professional educational experts.

School-Community Relations Objectives and Public Opinion

A major objective of any school-community relations program is to develop a commonality of purpose between the school and the community. A corollary value is to secure community support and confidence for the school and its program. But should schools simply undertake what the community wants accomplished and tailor its educational mission to public opinion?

Dewey specifically addressed the issue in 1901 in an article titled, "The People and the Schools." Dewey remarked that the answer lies in the conception of what the community wants from its educational institutions. Dewey said:

> The schools are not doing, and cannot do, what the people want until there is more unity, more definiteness, in the community's consciousness of its own needs; but it is the business of the school to forward this conception, to help the people to a clearer and more systematic idea of what the underlying needs of modern life are, and of how they are really to be supplied. (1901/1940, p. 37)

Most definitely, Dewey argued that the school must assume the role of educating the public not only to the needs and programs of the school, but to the needs of the community as well.

Dewey pointed out that the elementary school, in particular, had the advantages and disadvantages of its direct contact with public opinion as compared to institutions of higher education. Dewey warned of the dangers of responding to the fluctuations and confusions of the public expression of its needs. Dewey said that the schools "probably vary too easily and frequently as the various winds of public sentiment blow upon them" (1901/1940, p. 37). However, this is not to say that Dewey advocated educational professional dominance, but rather planning, research, and policy development to aid in democratic decision making. Therefore, let us turn our attention to Dewey's notions of planning and research in the context of school-community relations.

Planning and Research

Dewey believed that the scientific method, properly understood, was the greatest instrument of inquiry ever developed for finding useful knowledge, generating the greatest power for solving our practical problems and realizing our daily purpose. As a pragmatist, not a positivist, he believed in science not because it yields certain "truth," but rather because its practice results in systematically correctable and improvable hypotheses. Dewey believed that empirical claims were hypothetical and indeterminate, subject to revision through further scientific inquiry.

In an article written in 1939, Dewey discussed borrowing the techniques of science, as he understood them for educational purposes, and by extension for a school-community plan:

> The first question which comes before us is what are the place and role of educative processes and results in the school, family, etc. when they are viewed as a

> source? The answer is (1) that educational practices provide the data, the subject matter, which form the problems of inquiry. They are the sole source of the ultimate problems to be investigated. These educational practices are also . . . the final test of value of the conclusion of all researchers. (Dewey, 1929/1939, p. 640)

Dewey was interested not so much in the outcomes or findings of educational research as he was in the actual activities or process of education.

Dewey called for administrative and instructional reports to be presented to the community. He recognized the importance of community awareness of the problems faced by the public schools. Dewey maintained that "Any methods and any facts and principles from any subject whatsoever that enable the problems of administration and instruction to be dealt with in a better way are pertinent" (Dewey, 1929/1939, p. 646). Understanding the school as a continuation of the larger community, Dewey sought lines of communication with various publics that could provide knowledge on disparate matters touching on school life. Whether the concern was the "physical conditions of the school" or "making budgets" or "cost-accountings," Dewey wanted to draw on the community's expertise (Dewey, 1929/1939, p. 646).

This centering on the student is basically the approach that today's national leaders in public relations call for in school-community relations.

Dewey believed in putting ideas into plans in order for activities to be carried out. In *Experience and Education* (1938/1968), he drew an analogy between educational planning and building a house. A man wanting to build a house must form an idea of what kind of home he wants. Dewey said, "He has to draw a plan, and have blue prints and specifications...he must consider the relation of his funds and available credit to the execution of the plan...he must investigate available sites and so on..." (p. 70).

Dewey argued that an educational scheme must have a plan formed only after studying all conditions and by securing all relevant information. Dewey's analogy between educational planning and building a house highlights the connection between drawing on community expertise and the scientific collection of data. A person building a house necessarily draws on the expertise of different segments of the community such as the architects, bankers, and realtors.

Dewey's Public Relations Program

The second question becomes then, what would be John Dewey's objectives for a school-community relations or public-relations program? What are the underlying needs of modern life and how are they translated into the educational process and particularly into a school-community relations plan?

Dewey advocated what he called new education and progressive schools to replace the traditional scheme of education, or what he called the traditional school. In *Experience and Education*, Dewey defined the two:

> The traditional scheme is, in essence, one of imposition from above and from outside. It imposes adult standards, subject matter, and methods upon those who are only growing slowly toward maturity . . . the very situation forbids much active participation by pupils in the development of what is taught . . . learning means acquisition of what is already in books and in the heads of elders . . . . It is taught as a finished product. (Dewey, 1938/1968, p. 18)

In contrast, Dewey defined new or progressive education this way:

> To imposition from above is opposed expression and cultivation of individuality; to external discipline is opposed free activity; to learning from texts and teachers, learning through experience; to acquisition of isolated skills and techniques by drill, is opposed acquisition of them as means of attaining ends which make direct vital appeal; to preparation for a more or less remote future is opposed making the most of the opportunities of present life; to static aims and materials is opposed acquaintance with a changing world. (Dewey, 1938/1968, p. 20)

Dewey was committed to an education that aimed at "freeing intelligence" to direct an individual's freedom of action in a democratic society. Dewey's new education emphasized the freedom of the learner. He believed that the new education permitted education through experience in harmony with principles of growth and that individual needs could be met through a democratic experience cooperatively confirmed at the school. This centering on the student is basically the approach that today's national leaders in public relations call for in school-community relations (see Holliday, 1990).

Components of Dewey's School-Community Relations Program

Communication

Dewey maintained that much of the instability and disintegration that mark twentieth century living are a result of the weakening of primary human communities—"There is no substitute for the vitality and depth of close and direct intercourse and attachment" (Dewey, 1927/1954, p. 213). If a school system is to serve the needs and desires of a community, there must be continuous communication between school and community. Moreover, the communication must be two-way.

Dewey saw the importance of effective communication in the context of the school and community. He stressed the importance of interpersonal relations:

> The final actuality is accomplished in face-to-face relationships by means of direct give and take. Logic in its fulfillment recurs to the primitive sense of the word: dialogue. Ideas which are not communicated, shared and reborn in expression are but soliloquy, and soliloquy is but broken and imperfect thought. (Dewey, 1927/1954, p. 218).

The necessity of communication in a free democratic society was obvious to Dewey (Dewey, 1925/1939). He asserted:

> Society not only continues to exist *by* transmission, *by* communication, but it may fairly be said to exist *in* transmission, *in* communication. There is more than a verbal tie between the words common, community, and communication. Men live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common. (Dewey, 1916/1966, p. 5)

But Dewey pointed out that meaningful communication means more than relations marked by congeniality or mere memberships in a social group. Recognizing that differential power relationships can effect communication, he wrote:

> A large number of human relationships in any social group are still upon the machine-like plane . . . . Such uses express physical superiority or superiority of position, skill, technical ability, and command of tools, mechanical or fiscal. So far as the relations of parent and child, teacher and pupil, employer and employee, governor and governed, remain upon this level, they form no true social group . . . and [no] communication of interests. (1916/1966, p. 6)

It is clear from these statements that Dewey emphasized authentic personal relationships to foster communication. He understood the complex social and communication realities of his time. For Dewey, the question would be the selection of the most effective kind and variety of communication effort.

Dewey's School-Community Practice

Dewey put his ideas of progressive education to work in 1896 at his Chicago laboratory school, designed to create educational practice consistent with his values of social democracy and experimental inquiry. We can gain an insight into Dewey's conception of a school-community plan by looking at the school where he planned to implement his educational ideas.

At the lab school Dewey set about trying to create an environment that was community centered. First, he established a parents' association for the school. When Dewey moved toward the goal of including secondary education as part of the lab school he worked closely with the parents' association. Dewey wrote papers for the parents' association and made appearance at meetings of the parents' association to give speeches. Dewey sought unity of purpose from the parents (Wirth, 1966).

The functions of Dewey's school-community plan would blend two elements: communications and human relations. When he tried to place kindergarten through university graduate work under one roof for the academic year 1903-1904, Dewey again went to the parents' groups. Dewey was attempting to bring together several schools. The parents had strong loyalties to the many schools that were brought together. Dewey honored the contributions of the parents. He projected a *vision* of the unique opportunities that a consolidation of the schools represented. Dewey was diplomatic, informing, persuasive, and synergizing in the approach he took to convincing the community about the value of consolidating the schools (Wirth, 1966).

Dewey combined speeches and written work as instruments of marketing in "selling" the consolidation plan. Dewey conceived of his school as a form of community life. By expanding the school, Dewey saw opportunities for more communication and enhanced cooperation which he hoped would better serve the values of the democratic ideal—values learned better when they were lived than when merely talked about. He also believed that the school should reflect the community and serve to coordinate the activities of individuals and society. Dewey believed that by consolidating the schools, the social experience for all students would be improved.

In order to facilitate the transmission of the multiple values and skills that Dewey believed every member of a community should possess, he established relationships with other schools. We might view Dewey's communication efforts with other schools as part of his school-community relations effort. Dewey sought the support and cooperation of the many disciplines offered at the University of

Chicago. He enlisted the help and service of faculty members at the University for his elementary lab school. Dewey also kept contact with the South Side Academy, a distinguished secondary school, and the Chicago Manual Training School. These schools were brought together after several years of collaborative work with Dewey's lab school in 1903-1904 (Wirth, 1966).

. . . every member of the school system "from the first grade teacher to the principal of the high school must have some share in the exercise of educational power."

Dewey set up conferences between university professors and representatives of the public schools and his lab school. Arranged so that "the University, the Public Schools and other educational agencies will meet on common ground for the purpose of furthering the different educational movements" (Wirth, 1966, p. 154), these conferences often concerned approaches to teaching elementary science.

In reflecting on his experiences almost four decades afterwards, Dewey (1936/1965) summarized parts of his original 1895 Plan of Organization for the laboratory school of the University of Chicago and defined the problem of education:

> This problem is the harmonizing of individual traits with social ends and values. Education is a difficult process . . . it is so extremely difficult to achieve an effective coordination of the factors which proceed from the make-up, the psychological constitution, of human beings with the demands and opportunities of the social environment. (Dewey, 1936/1965, p. 465)

Dewey's emphasis was on the role of the school to guide and encourage the simultaneous growth of all the powers of the child including emotional, moral, intellectual, and social growth. In the 1930s Dewey looked back at what had gone awry with the idea of progressive education and stated:

> In intent, whatever the failures in accomplishment, the school was "community centered." It was held that the process of mental development is essentially a social process, a process of participation; . . . the aim was [the] ability of individuals to live in cooperative integration with others. (Dewey, 1936/1965, p. 467)

In *Problems of Man*, in a chapter titled "Democracy and Educational Administration," Dewey affirmed that "the foundation of democracy is faith in the capacities of human nature; faith in human intelligence and in the power of pooled and cooperative experience" (Dewey, 1946, p. 59). Dewey saw a need for the citizen's formal participation in the affairs of the school. The parents' association is an example of participation that is not mandated but nevertheless constitutes formalized participation. The above discussion demonstrates that Dewey's emphasis on participation in school affairs is on an informal basis.

Teachers and School-Community Relations

Dewey would feel at home today with the reform movement to "empower" teachers. Dewey thought that the organization and administration of public schools in his day was terribly undemocratic. West (1985) points out that teachers should, of their own accord, practice good human relations with administrators, with one another, with students and parents, and with the general citizenry. West maintains that teachers should be exemplary when dealing with members of the "immediate" or "extended" school family. West places a great emphasis on the central role of the teacher in a public relations program.

Dewey believed that every member of the school system "from the first grade teacher to the principal of the high school must have some share in the exercise of educational power" (1903/1940, p. 65). His 1903 article on democracy and education explained:

> All other reforms are conditioned upon reform in the quality and character of those who engage in the teaching profession . . . . Just because education is the most personal, the most intimate, of all human affairs, there more than anywhere else, the sole ultimate reliance and final source of power are in the training, character and intelligence of the individual. If any scheme could be devised which would draw to the calling of teaching persons of force of character, of sympathy with children, and consequent interest in the problems of teaching and of scholarship, no one need be troubled for a moment about other educational reforms, or the solutions of other educational problems. (1903/1940, pp. 67-68)

Dewey saw great waste in not involving teachers in policy formulation. "Is not the waste very considerably increased when teachers are not called upon to *communicate* [italics added] their successful methods and results in a form by which it would have organic effect upon general school policies?" (Dewey, 1937/1939, p. 720). Dewey saw the "absence of democratic method" as the single greatest cause of educational waste. In Dewey's view, teachers were integral to the educative process in planning, controlling, and directing communication.

In 1935, in a speech titled "The Teacher and the Public," Dewey linked the needs and work of teachers to other workers in the community. Dewey maintained that the health of the community and the school depends on increased communication between the teacher and other members of the community. Dewey cited the preamble of the constitution of the American Federation of Teachers:

> We believe that the teacher is one of the most highly productive of workers, and that the best interests of the schools and of the people demand an intimate contact and an effective co-operation between the teachers and the other workers of the community—upon whom the future of democracy must depend. (Cited by Dewey, 1935/1940, p. 307)

To receive the endorsement of John Dewey, a school-community plan would need to actively involve teachers in the community. Dewey urged teachers to communicate with parents and put students at the center of education. In order to effectively teach, Dewey said:

> The way is, first for the teacher to be intelligently aware of the capacities, needs, and past experiences of those under instruction, and secondly, to allow the suggestion made to develop into a plan and project by means of the further suggestions contributed and organized into a whole by the members of the group. (Dewey, 1938/1968, p. 71)

Putting students first and at the center of a school-community plan would be key to Dewey's whole way of operation; this approach is echoed today by Albert Holliday (1990), who urges public relation personnel to achieve the same in their programs

Conclusion

History suggests that Dewey's ideas concerning new education and progressive schools failed to gain full public support or to take root and restructure the American school. But there is still hope for those ideas. The efforts since the 1950s to define education as a cost-benefit production function dominated by scientific management principles hardly fits with Dewey's ideas of education and democracy. We have seen that Dewey valued a strong community-school relationship, which has experienced some revival in the last decade.

It is clear that Dewey advanced a forward thinking school-community relations plan. But his progressive ideas about education did not become part of the educational fabric. Why? Perhaps Dewey believed too strongly in what a school-community relations effort could produce. Dewey was keenly aware of the dialectical problem existing between the needs of the individual and the needs of the community in a democratic society.

Dewey recognized the inherent difficulty of pulling people together in community, in communion. Dewey explained the extreme difficulties of promoting educational change through a school-community relations effort perhaps best in *The Public and Its Problems* (1927/1954):

> Unless there are methods for detecting the energies which are at work and tracing them through an intricate network of interactions to their consequences, what passes as public opinion will be "opinion" in its derogatory sense rather than truly public, no matter how widespread the opinion is. (p. 177)

We must remember, however, that John Dewey was not a defeatist. He was an optimist, some thought a hopeless romantic idealist. While recognizing the problems of selfishness and special interest groups, Dewey remained committed to the possibilities inherent in a social democracy. He knew that the task of convincing the public about educational change and about progressive education was ultimately the job of educators who adhered to the ideas of the new education. Dewey said, "the only ground I can see for even a temporary reaction against the standards, aims, and methods of the newer education is the failure of educators who professedly adopt them not to be faithful to them in practice" (Dewey, 1938/1968, p. 90).

Dewey saw the change from traditional education to new education as happening only when "a subtle, delicate, vivid and responsive art of communication" (Dewey, 1927/1954, p. 184) replaced manipulating public relations, providing the public with a clear understanding of the possibilities of an education grounded in experience, growth, and democratic social arrangements. John Dewey's challenge to educators—to develop a subtle, yet vivid "responsive art of communication"—remains unfulfilled today. Only when we learn to master this art will a school-community relations effort become truly effective.

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School Reform: Is It Good For Kids?

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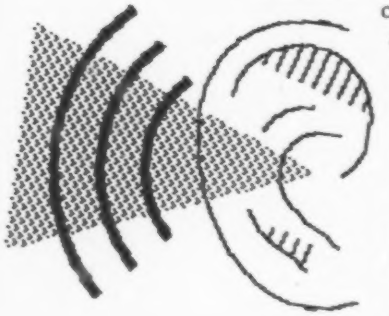
The school reform movement came about as a result of the issuance of the National Report, "A Nation at Risk," in April, 1987, by Terrel Bell, the then Secretary of the U.S. Department of Education. The findings and recommendations contained in that report sounded the clarion call for major changes in how we educate the children and youth of America.

The 64-page report—relatively brief as national reports go—spawned literally dozens, perhaps hundreds of similar reform reports. It's safe to say that every state in the nation has produced at least one educational reform report and several states have sponsored and completed multiple efforts. Business-education round tables have sprung up in many states and cities. Governors and legislators have devoted a great deal of political effort and capital to the educational reform movement. On the national political level, President George Bush aspires to being the "Education President." He started by working with the Governors to develop and issue six national education goals, and most recently issued his "Schools 2000" initiative.

It is impossible to detail the literally hundreds of actions of the school reform movement that have been taken by various state legislatures and local school officials. However, there are some generalizations that can be made. Harold Hodgkinson, in an article in the September 1991 issue of the *Phi Delta Kappan,* put it this way: " . . . a blizzard of education reform proposals has fallen, and states have raised the graduation standards for high schools, installed minimum standards for many from one grade to the next, required new teachers to pass special examinations before being allowed to teach, initiated choice and magnet school programs, and so on." He concludes: "But so far, there has been no change in high school graduation rates, in most test scores, or in other indicators of 'quality.'" So much for the first phase of school reform.



In more recent years, the school reform movement has taken on many different thrusts. These might be labeled as the second phase of school reform. For example, Kentucky, in response to a Kentucky Supreme Court ruling dealing with educational and financial equity, has completely revamped its educational program. Such things as ungraded primaries, mandated site-based management teams, and state-wide testing and assessment, to name but a few, are now the norm in Kentucky. The state education agency, which had existed for many years, was abolished, and a new agency was created. This new state agency is to be less regulatory and more supportive to local school districts.

Oregon has taken steps to revamp its high school program. For all practical purposes, the general education program for Oregon high schoolers will end at the 10th grade, and they are then "tracked" to either tech prep or college prep programs for their final two years.

Illinois passed sweeping legislation two years ago which materially changed the governance structure of the Chicago Public Schools. The authority of the Chicago School Board and central administrators was appreciably curtailed, and much of the power and many of the decision-making procedures were vested in local school councils that have both lay and teacher representatives.

And the adoption of the six national education goals are having an impact on educational reform. To put this point in context, let me briefly state these goals:

By the year 2000:

1. All children will start school ready to learn.
2. The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90%.
3. Students will demonstrate competence in challenging subject matter and citizenship.
4. U.S. students will be first in the world in mathematics and science.
5. Every adult will be literate and able to compete in the world economy and function as a responsible citizen.
6. All schools will become safe, disciplined, and free of drugs.

Books could be written on each of these goals. I'll not succumb to that temptation. Suffice it to say, they are ambitious goals. Whether they are realistic or attainable is yet to be determined, but they continue to contribute to the educational reform dialogue.

In addition to the actions just cited, I would submit the following as general characteristics of the current school reform movement:

1. For the most part, the movement is being spearheaded and directed by politicians, business people, and other lay people. For a variety of reasons, the educational community has been shoved into the background either by

overt action by decision makers or due to inactivity on the part of educators.

2. Local school board members and central office administrators, such as superintendents, assistant superintendents, and curriculum specialists, are, to say the least, being downgraded in the educational reform movement. Less and less definitive decision making is taking place at the local level. On the one hand, new and far-reaching state mandates are more the norm, and on the other hand, emphasis is being placed on site-based management. This is somewhat of a dichotomy, but a reality, I'm afraid.

. . . much of what is being touted as positive school reform measures have little or no base in the findings of educational research.

3. Related to the characteristic I just mentioned, there's a strong movement away from local control of education to more centralized activity in setting of standards and mandatory assessment of student progress. Standardization and accountability are fast becoming the by-words of the educational reform movement. I find this characteristic the most puzzling. For years, we touted the virtues of local control. What happened to downgrade local control as an issue?
4. A final characteristic that I find very disturbing is that very little attention is being paid to the unique and individual needs of children. Economic development, national security, and political power struggles are seemingly driving the educational reform movement.

I don't fault the good intentions of those who have assumed leadership roles. I think they truly believe they are providing the appropriate solutions to the problems of education as they perceive them. I'm afraid, though, that they have not properly identified the problems. They are providing solutions that don't match the real problems.

If I were to identify what I considered to be the major weakness of the current school reform movement that is occupying so much of our thoughts and attention today, it would be that much of what is being touted as positive school reform measures have little or no base in the findings of educational research. For example, I know of no significant research findings that support parental choice, teacher testing, or a longer school year as contributing to the academic and intellectual growth of students, yet these are major initiatives of the school reform movement. I bring up the issue here to admonish those persons in a position to do so, to make education research a primary effort of the school reform movement.

Leaders in the school reform movement have failed to recognize the tremendous changes in our society that are impacting today's children. The growth of poverty in our society! The advancement of the drug culture that is creating youthful addicts and crack and cocaine babies! The social problem of teenage pregnancy! The sorry plight of our urban areas and schools! The growing problem of teenage gangs and violence! The racial tensions that permeate many of the nation's city schools and communities! All of these social issues and many more are showing up at the school house doors.

Some would say that schools should not be expected to solve these social problems. The job of the schools is to teach the basic skills—reading, writing, and arithmetic. Unfortunately, the schools cannot get to those basic skills until some of the social issues I've mentioned are addressed. National standards and state and national report cards are rather meaningless to a vast number of children and youth in our schools who first must overcome the barriers of social neglect. Site-based management might be the vehicle through which teachers, principals, and parents can begin to address some of these needs, but if the management activities are too spread out and have very little central focus, educational inertia may set in.

I could go on but I won't. I do not wish to cast aspersions against those reforms under consideration! My purpose here is very simple: Don't leave the kids out of the school reform equation. Schools are for kids, first and foremost. I don't deny that secondarily, schools are also for society. But kids should come first. Each child is a unique human being. Each child has slightly, and in some cases glaringly, different needs. In the words of the special education community, each child has a right to an *appropriate* education program, regardless of his or her handicapping condition. I would add that that premise applies to all children. There are other handicapping conditions:

1. poverty
2. drug abuse
3. teenage pregnancy
4. racial tensions
5. gang violence

As I stated before, national standards, national testing, teacher bashing and testing, and a multitude of other school reform quick fixes will have little impact on student performance unless these issues are addressed.

Let me close with this story. It is the story of "The Animal School."

The Animal School

The animals decided to start a school, so they made a very careful study of the practices in the schools operated by human beings and being proposed by educational reformers. The curriculum of the animal school consisted of running, climbing, diving, and swimming—and all the animals took all of the subjects, required subjects, you know!

The Duck was good in swimming, better in fact than his instructor, and he made passing grades in flying, but he was made to stay in school and drop his swimming class to practice running. He kept this up until he was only average in swimming; but, average is acceptable, so nobody worried about that, except the Duck.

The Eagle was considered a problem pupil and was disciplined severely. He beat all the others to the top of the tree in the climbing class, but he had used his own way of getting there.

The Rabbit started at the top of the class in running, but he had a nervous breakdown and had to drop out of school on account of so much make-up work in swimming.

The Squirrel led the climbing class, but his flying teacher made him start his flying lessons from the ground up instead of from the top of the tree down, and he developed charlie horses from over-exertion at the take-off and began getting C's in climbing and D's in running.

The practical Prairie Dogs apprenticed their offspring to a Badger when the school authorities refused to add digging to the curriculum. School choice, you know.

At the end of the year, an abnormal eel that could swim well, run, climb, and fly a little was made valedictorian.

The point of this story is *obvious*. The fact that no two individuals are alike in either natural ability or endowment complicates the educational process. When pupils come to school, they bring with them certain abilities and aptitudes. It is the task of the school to help children find themselves and to provide a variety of experiences that will help them to become well-balanced individuals. And, I am convinced that the teachers in our public schools are in the most strategic position to assist young people to discover their abilities and aptitudes.

A simplistic approach? Perhaps, but I beg of you as we continue the school reform dialogue, do not forget the ultimate question: "Is it good for kids?"

For additional information about this article, you may contact Robert Benton, 1731 White Swan Drive, Oshkosh, WI 54901.

Dr. Robert D. Benton received his B.A. degree in 1951 and M.A. degree in 1956 from the University of Northern Iowa, and his Ed.D. degree from the University of Northern Colorado in 1961, majoring in school administration. He taught English and journalism at Ruthven (IA) and Mason City (IA) for five years, moving to Rapid City (SD) as director of public information and coordinator of secondary education in 1958. He served as assistant superintendent in charge of instruction at Rapid City, 1961-1966, before serving as superintendent of schools at Council Bluffs (IA) from 1966-1972. He assumed the position of State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Iowa effective July 1, 1972. The title of that position was changed in 1986 to Director, Department of Education.

In April of 1975, Dr. Benton was appointed to the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Advisory Council on Child Nutrition, and in June of 1975, President Ford appointed him to serve a two-year term as a public member of the Commission on Federal Paperwork. He has served as the president of the Council of Chief State School Officers, and he was the chairman of the organizing and permanent Board of Directors of the North Central Regional Educational Laboratory in Elmhurst, Illinois, until July 1987. Secretary of Education Terrel H. Bell, before resigning that position in December of 1984, appointed Dr. Benton to serve on the Task Force on Educational Technology. In June of 1987, Dr. Benton completed a two-year term as Vice President for Education of the National PTA. He assumed the position of Dean, College of Education and Human Services of The University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh in September 1987.

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Total Quality Management: Is It Feasible for Our Schools

Ronald A. Lindahl
Associate Professor,
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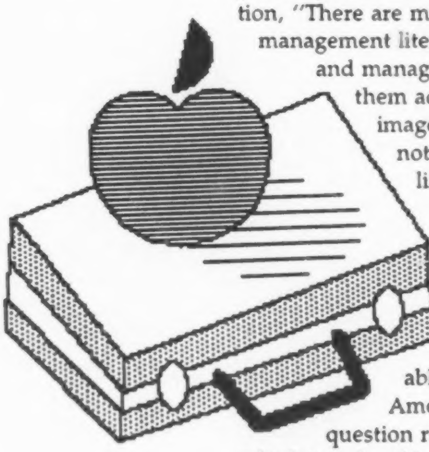
Over the past half-decade, the American private sector has become increasingly more aware, and more enamored, of the concepts and practices of Total Quality Management (TQM), a management approach generally attributed to W. Edwards Deming, who credits himself with reviving the Japanese economy after World War II through the application of TQM (see Mann, 1989). Despite having remained, at least nominally, at the forefront of the national agenda for over a decade, public dissatisfaction with the American educational system is continually more apparent. Therefore, it seems natural to inquire as to whether that educational system should follow the lead of the private sector in pursuing the imagined *nirvana* of TQM.

However, even the immediate, preliminary answer to that question is extremely complex. First, it becomes important to define, precisely, what is meant by TQM. The specific TQM models conceived and implemented vary in direct measure with the number of organizations, or even individuals, involved. As Krone (1990) observes, "At best TQM is being marketed as an umbrella for everything good that you have ever heard of and at worst it is being blamed for failures unrelated to what TQM is all about" (p. 36).

Second, and even more significantly, it is essential to determine whether organizations as distinct as private corporations and public schools may benefit from similar management philosophies. As Louis and Miles (1990) caution, "There are many books in the business management literature focusing on leading and managing change. But many of them advise strategies based on an image of organizations that does not fit well with the reality of life in schools" (p. xiii).



Finally, should it be possible to determine what the essential characteristics, philosophies, and practices are in TQM and affirm that they are potentially desirable for the administration of America's public schools, the question remains as to the extent to which it is feasible to contemplate the implementation of TQM within that milieu. The purpose of this article, then, is to address these three primary questions.

What Is TQM?

Despite the many existing models and variations in their implementation, the burgeoning professional literature on TQM suggests that this approach has been sufficiently defined as to permit reasonable consensus as to its essential characteristics and components. Axline (1991) defines TQM as "a synthesized, pervasive and unwavering commitment to quality through continuous process improvement by all members of the organization" (p. 64). Scott (1989) characterizes it as "doing the right thing, right the first time, on time, all the time, always striving for improvement, and always satisfying the customer"(p. 67). Krone (1990) considers its four essential elements to be: customer satisfaction, a supportive cultural environment, people teams and partnerships, and disciplined systems and processes. He expands on these four by discussing seven basic principles of TQM:

1. teamwork and participation at the lowest possible level and decision-making at the lowest appropriate level;
2. strategic planning to establish a vision statement and improved projects with measurable milestones and goals;
3. getting the process right the first time and up-front through better planning, rather than fixing it later;
4. competition is replaced by cooperation;
5. networking of teams replacing hierarchies;
6. power and knowledge delegated to the lowest practical level; and
7. continual improvement, not snapshot or random fixes. (p. 35)

In its mega-study on TQM (as cited in Scott, 1989), the Massachusetts Institute of Technology singled out the following six points of emphasis as forming the cornerstone of this managerial approach:

1. developing close ties to customers and meeting their needs;
2. a focus on continuous improvement of processes to reduce cost and improve quality of a product or service;
3. fostering closer quality-based relationships with a select group of suppliers;
4. breaking down organizational hierarchies to improve communication between traditional functional areas;
5. applying technology to advantage through a strategic, long-term approach; and
6. developing human resource policies and rewards that promote employee participation, teamwork, flexibility, and continuous learning. (p. 70)

In his contrast of TQM with traditional management theory, Benson (1991b) characterizes TQM in the following manner:

1. define quality vs. "I know it when I see it";
2. customer orientation vs. internal focus;
3. work process focus vs. end product focus;
4. customer/supplier partnerships vs. we and they;
5. prevention vs. reaction;
6. error-free attitude vs. "That's good enough";
7. manage by facts vs. manage by intuition;
8. employee participation vs. Theory X;
9. total involvement vs. "Quality is someone else's problem"; and
10. continuous improvement vs. target orientation. (p. 32)

All of the aforementioned capsule descriptions of TQM originate in Deming's (1986) original "Fourteen Points." The essence of Deming's approach calls for consistent, simultaneous attention to all of the following administrative *dicta:* 1) Create and publish a statement of the aims and purposes of the company or organization. Management must demonstrate constantly its commitment to this statement; 2) Learn the new philosophy—top management and everybody; 3) Understand the purpose of inspection for improvement of processes and reduction of cost; 4) End the practice of awarding business on the basis of price tag alone; 5) Improve constantly and forever the system of production and service; 6) Institute training; 7) Teach and institute leadership; 8) Drive out fear. Create trust. Create a climate for innovation; 9) Optimize toward the aims and purposes of the company, the efforts of teams, groups, and staff areas. Break down barriers between departments; 10) Eliminate exhortations and slogans for the work force; 11) Eliminate numerical quotas for production. Instead, learn and institute methods for improvement. Eliminate MBO. Instead, learn the capabilities of processes and how to improve them; 12) Remove barriers that rob people of pride of workmanship; 13) Encourage education and self-improvement for everyone; and 14) Take actions to accomplish the transformation.

The congruity of these various definitions of TQM, enhanced by each author's chosen points of emphasis, provides what Benson (1991a) calls "the gestalt of Total Quality Management."

Are Schools and Corporations Sufficiently Alike to Warrant a Common Management Approach?

An important question to ask appears to be, "What characteristics of the corporate culture suggest that TQM might be an appropriate management approach?" Scott (1989) cites the failure of organizations to cooperate and the neglect of human resources as being the prime causes of lack of quality and lack of success in private sector organizations. Furthermore, he cites outmoded strategies grounded in mass production and inward-focused marketing, a myopic economic outlook centered on short-term profits, a weakness in the technology of production, emphasis on elegant, high-technology designs at the expense of a quality-first focus, and strained relations and mistrust between industry and government as characteristics that might lead private sector organizations to consider the implementation of TQM. Drucker (1980) describes the major barriers to corporate productivity as a lack of clear performance targets, trying to do too many things at once, lack of an experimental attitude, lack of evaluation, and a reluctance to abandon less-productive programs.

In his examination of public sector organizations, Milakovich (1991) cites the attempt to balance multiple, vague, conflicting goals of diverse interest groups, a focus on short-term political rewards, and the inability to control and define markets as being key factors that lead these organizations to failure and make them prime candidates for the implementation of TQM. If, indeed, these factors of organizational culture were instrumental in leading other public and private sector organizations to embrace TQM, the question remains as to the comparability of the public school culture.

Global analyses of the public school culture, e.g., Boyer (1983), Goodlad (1984), Lightfoot (1983), Powell, Cohen, and Farrar (1984), and Sizer (1984), suggest that public schools suffer from remarkably similar maladies to those noted by Scott, Drucker, Milakovich, and others. The most salient characteristics of the school culture seem to be the isolation of teachers, the lack of clearly defined goals, and the continuing failure of schools to measure the quality of their products vis-a-vis these goals. Although a plethora of reform and, more recently, restructuring efforts have been targeted at, or initiated by, schools, it is this author's contention that these decade-old analyses remain descriptive of the cultures of the

. . . one of the key components of TQM is maintaining a constant focus on the needs of the customer . . .

majority of American schools. Support for this position is found in Glickman's (1990) eloquent description of the legacy of the one-room schoolhouse. He depicts teachers as isolated and individualistic, often incapable of working collaboratively. He characterizes the school environment as an incessant stream of psychological encounters, generally mediated by resorting to routines, which in themselves are typically imposed by administrative fiat. He notes that after the intense challenge teachers face in their initial year, there is little mobility or job enhancement available. Teachers seldom discuss instruction or key issues with their peers, nor are they involved in key decisions affecting the school.

Lortie's research, as reported in Fullan (1991), supports this characterization of isolation, finding that 91% of teachers would choose to use additional time [if available] on tasks which they typically perform alone (p. 121). In his massive qualitative study of schooling, Goodlad (1984) found precisely the same quality of isolation to be prevalent. Louis and Miles (1990) conclude that this pattern results in teachers struggling privately with their anxieties and problems, thus failing to develop a common technical culture.

The critical issue of the lack of congruent goals was also a key finding of Goodlad's (1982) study, which found that the greatest predictor of school success was goal congruence among teachers, administrators, students, and parents. Leithwood (1990) echoed this finding, concluding that goals are "the glue that holds together the myriad decisions of highly effective principals"(p. 85). Both studies recognized the general lack of such clear, congruent goals in American public education.

Correspondingly, Snyder and Anderson (1986) summarize that research on effective schools reveals virtually nothing about teacher evaluation practices that correlates with student achievement gains and advocate that "all roles performed within schools can and must be provided with a specific set of results-oriented standards" (p. 254). This is seconded by Louis and Miles (1990), who assert that "individuals and groups must be held accountable for performance, not procedures" (p. 24).

If one accepts the global comparability of school cultures with their private sector counterparts, the next task is to investigate those aspects of TQM that have apparently led to its current popularity in the corporate, and even public, sectors and to determine if they, too, appear to be appropriate to the public school environment.

Focus on the Customer

As Scott (1989) explains, one of the key components of TQM is maintaining a constant focus on the needs of the customer, and of defining quality in direct relation to those needs. He notes that "customers may be inside an organization or outside, but every person—from the chief executive to the janitor—has customers who receive and depend on that individual's product"(p. 68). Krone (1990) discusses the same issue, noting that each member of the organization must establish a clear vision of how to provide service to the customer, a vision which views that service as: "courteous, clear, concise, correct, complete, and concerned" (p. 35).

Glenn (1991) echoes this focus on the customer, stating: "All we do is for their sake; without them, our work has no purpose. Therefore, if we are serious about quality, customers, no matter whether they are internal or external, have every right to have their requirements, needs, and expectations met the first time and every time" (p. 17).

In his report on TQM in the healthcare sector (cited in Perry, 1988), Jensen notes that customer needs are constantly being redefined, perhaps as much a function of the increasing levels of education and sophistication of those customers in being able to express their needs than as a function of the actual needs, themselves (p. 32).

Although the market economy obviates the need for this focus in the private sector, Glenn (1991) makes an equally strong point for public sector organizations maintaining this same focus: "We forget that in the public sector, unlike the private sector, we don't have the luxury of losing our customers; our customers, like the poor, we have always with us. One of the worst things we can do is turn them into enemies" (p. 18). This same author addresses the issue of the extent to which customers should be the source for determining an organization's product. He states simply:

> Customers are worthy people, both honest and competent. It means treating them that way. If our customers are honest and competent people, they are perfectly capable of expressing their valid needs, although we may have to negotiate with them to translate those needs into measurable terms we can work to fulfill. We can ask customers what they want, need, and expect. (p. 18)

Similar conclusions are reached by Hendricks and Triplett (1989), who affirm:

> A vision must be presented and reinforced at all levels that everyone has customer responsibilities and that customer satisfaction depends on reliable service, credible representation, the customer's consistently favorable impressions about the company, responsive employees, and empathy to each customer's unique situation. (p. 47)

Certainly, the concept of "customer" is not new to the professional literature in educational administration; however, it is significantly more difficult to ascertain who is the customer in schools than it is in industry or commerce. Educators may be viewed as having multiple customers, including students, parents, school board members, and community patrons. Of these, however, students are generally viewed as the primary "targets," if not customers, of education. Louis and Miles (1990) clearly define students as the "customers" of schools and posit that schools will need to meet the holistic needs of their students (pp. 25-26). Glatthorn (1990) also defines "constituent satisfaction" and "learner needs" as two of the five essential areas to be addressed by curriculum leaders.

If one accepts that students, as the school's "customers," should be the focus of the school's "product," the students' needs must then become the basis for goal-setting in public education. This is emphasized by Shanker (1990), who states: "Student success is the shared goal. Time, space, instruction, and people are organized to achieve that goal" (p. 93). Even recognizing this, however, the diversity of potential goals and objectives is staggering. As Louis and Miles (1990) state: "Yes, we all can agree that the goal is to educate students—but in what, and for what?" (p. 7). Thus, even if it is possible to identify students as the primary "customers" of our public schools, it has long been a problem to achieve consensus on the needs of those customers and which of those needs are best satisfied by the public schools.

Focus on Quality

Through a focus on the customer's needs, the organization is able to determine its basic goals. Once established, under the principles of TQM, the organization must then focus its attention and energies on the maintenance of quality standards in relation to these goals. The link between the customers' needs and these quality standards is pointed out by McDonnell (in Scott, 1989), who states: "You can write your own definition to suit your particular job as long as you keep quality—that is, your customer's definition of quality—as your goal" (p. 67).

The issue of quality is clearly the foundation of Deming's (1986) work. He states:

> The central problem in management, leadership, and production...is failure to understand the nature and interpretation of variation. Efforts and methods of improvement of quality and productivity are in most companies and in most government agencies fragmented, with no overall competent guidance, no integrated system for continual improvement. (pp. 465-466)

Scott (1989) elaborates on this, stating that the key to TQM is "pursuing a strategy of steady, continuous improvement by focusing on and understanding all elements of existing tasks. Ideally, every person in an organization is always looking for a better way to do a job" (p. 68). To accomplish this, he advocates, much as did Deming (1986), Feigenbaum (1954), Ishikawa (1985), Juran (1988), and others, the use of statistical tools to reduce variations in processes. The importance of this quality control issue is clearly highlighted in the qualitative research conducted in Japanese organizations by Atkinson and Naden (1989) and in Aalbregtse, Hejka, and McNeley (1991) who state: "If managers typically spend 40% of their time on production and cost issues and 10% on quality issues, then their priorities are clear" (p. 30).

Although schools have long been characterized by standardized norm-referenced tests purporting to measure quality, these mechanisms do not appear to be compatible with the TQM approach in that they generally do not have meaningful impact on "production," are imposed by external rather than internal forces, and do not measure quality in ways that are meaningful to the "customer," or student. Similarly, Glasser (1990) criticizes the validity of the standardized tests vis-a-vis the "consumer's" definition of quality:

> Nothing of high quality, including schoolwork, can be measured by standardized, machine-scored tests. If we are truly interested in measuring what successful teachers in magnet schools are doing, we will need to conduct thorough interviews with them, collect observations of a statistically significant sample of them, and carry out follow-up studies to see if the future academic performance of their students is enhanced. (p. 426)

These findings on the lack of quality measurement also apply to the measurement of teacher performance, as noted in Snyder and Anderson's (1986) review of research on effective schools, which revealed that virtually nothing about teacher evaluation practices correlates with student achievement gains and that most job descriptions describe what teachers are to do, not the results of their performance. This led Snyder and Anderson to advocate that "to become more effective, schools must shift their attention from global measures 'following' performance to identifying role standards and an organizational goal context 'before' behavior" (p. 256). This point is also advocated by Louis and Miles (1990), who state that: "Individuals and groups must be held accountable for performance, not procedures. A sense of responsibility and accountability must be owned by members of the organization rather than simply imposed from outside" (p. 24). Louis and Miles (1990) illuminate some contrasts between TQM's emphasis on quality, and its measurement, and current practice in schools. They note that effectiveness of teaching is gauged by informal, general observation of students, often leaving teachers unsure whether they have made any difference at all.

Although it has been said that quality for one student may represent extremely poor achievement for another, Glasser (1990) asserts that each student will recognize what represents "quality" (or lack thereof) for that student and, more importantly, that it is the student's own assessment that should take priority over the assessments of teachers, parents, administrators, peers, etc. If the student is considered as the customer, rather than as a worker in the process, this stance shares Deming's insistence on satisfying the customer's concept and needs for quality.

Thus, although one of the primary foci of TQM, quality control, appears to be somewhat lacking from current practice, it appears to be a deficit already well-noted in the professional literature of educational administration.

Teamwork

As Glenn (1991) states: "An organization which can boast that 15% of its people are on teams at any given time has successfully begun the TQM journey. An organization that has 60 to 80% of its people on teams on any given time has completed the cultural transformation to quality" (p. 19). This emphasis on teamwork is further explained by Scott (1989):

> Improved quality and high productivity can be achieved by tapping the inherent potential of a workforce, enabling each employee to do his or her job right the first time. A TQM-oriented organization strives to create a positive, pleasant and safe working environment, emphasizes teamwork over individual efforts, and provides an abundance of training. Workers' ideas and expertise are actively sought and rewarded. (p. 69)

However, despite the predominantly isolated culture of schools as previously characterized, current professional thought in educational administration strongly advocates the team concept. Hoy and Miskel (1991) assert that people work best when they are in, and feel part of, a team in which they can be trusted and trust each other to do their jobs; share leadership and make decisions; are accepted and respected; resolve issues with sensitivity and understanding; have the opportunity to accomplish challenging goals; and contribute to continuing improvement.

The current emphases on teacher "empowerment" and "cooperative learning" both are founded upon the need for teamwork at all levels in schools. However, as Glenn (1991) notes: "Before teams can be effective, they need four things: training, facilitation, leadership, and support" (p. 19).

Training

Axline (1991) assigns training a pivotal role in the implementation of TQM in organizations, asserting, "When there is a lack of follow-through in organization-wide TQM training, the concept and approach sometimes become a battleground" (p. 64). He further explains that: "Production-level workers, first-line supervisors, middle management and top executives often learn a great deal from one another when they're involved together in training and process action teams" (p. 64).

Glenn (1991) defines these training needs in four basic categories: skills, statistical tools, interpersonal dynamics, and the basic principles of TQM. His contention is that all needs must be addressed on an ongoing basis, for all organizational members, yet in accordance with the specific roles occupied and skills needed by each.

Training, or staff development, has long been recognized as a key element in public school management (see Glatthorn, 1990; Glickman, 1990; Hunter, 1990; Leithwood, 1990; Louis & Miles, 1990; Shanker, 1990; Snyder & Anderson, 1986). Admittedly, it has not always been implemented as consistently as advocated under TQM or in as structured a manner as suggested by Glenn (1991). However, its importance has certainly been recognized. Hunter (1990) states: "A final criterion of a profession is that its practitioners never stop learning better ways of providing service for their clients" (p. xii). Shanker (1990) goes further, asserting:

> 1. Teachers are viewed as an important source of knowledge that should inform what happens in schools.
> 2. Teachers' learning comes about through continuous inquiry and interaction with colleagues, as well as through exposure to new research and ideas from the academic and broader communities.
> 3. The locus for staff development is the school. It means that the school is structured so that staff development is an ongoing, continuous, and integral part of the school's mission. Teachers' time is legitimately spent in the improvement of practice. (p. 93)

Thus, although the implementation of training in schools may not mirror the ideals of TQM, it is certainly recognized as a key element in the management of quality and is amply treated in the professional literature of educational administration.

"To what extent is TQM a new vision for the management of schools?"

Facilitation, Leadership, and Support

The remaining three keys identified by Glenn (1991) are too interrelated to treat separately; certainly, the role of leadership assumes corresponding roles of both facilitation and support. Axline (1991) assigns leadership a key role in TQM, stating: "When committed leadership is lacking, the various pieces of TQM do not fit together in a coherent pattern" (p. 64). He goes on to note that leadership is required at all levels of the organization, not confined to or reserved for only the high-ranking executives.

Aalbregtse et al. (1991) help define the role of the leader in TQM:

> Leadership involves defining the need for change, creating new visions, and using new frameworks to mobilize commitment to those visions—frameworks for thinking about strategy, structure, and people. Leadership emphasizes the ability to articulate those visions clearly and forcefully. Leaders provide focus by consolidating or challenging conventional wisdom, and translating their ideas into operational actions. (p. 30)

Glenn (1991) continues this discussion, defining the role of leader in the following terms:

> - Leaders excite other people by communication, including action and inspiration.
> - What leaders have in common in addition to their galvanizing vision are positiveness, passion, and humility.
> - Leaders reach beyond mere facts to the what-could-be, to facts which have not yet come into existence.
> - When leaders are leading, their focus is outside of themselves, on the goal—the vision they are committed to. (p. 18)

In her review of the principles of Total Quality Management, Walton (1986) stresses such related leadership issues as ceasing reliance on mass inspection and, instead, enlisting workers in the ongoing improvement of the process; improving constantly the system of production and service; helping people to do a better job and learning by objective methods who is in need of individual help; driving out fear; and removing the barriers to pride of workmanship. Koons (1991) further defines the leadership role in TQM, noting that at times it must go well beyond the support and facilitation modes:

> Not all problems or issues are appropriate for team assignments. There is still a role for creative managers to identify opportunities for operational and program enhancements under their control, and to take the necessary administrative actions to implement these enhancements. At some point decisions have to be made even though all of the subordinate staff may not agree. Even in a TQM environment, managers are not merely facilitators, but still must make some tough decisions that are not always popular. (p. 38)

These same concepts of leadership permeate the professional literature in educational administration (see Edmonds, 1979; Fullan, 1991; Glatthorn, 1990; Glickman, 1990; Sarason, 1990; Snyder & Anderson, 1986, among others). However, the question remains as to how extensively this model of leadership is being implemented in the public schools.

The Feasibility of TQM as a Management Approach for Schools

If one accepts the basic tenets presented as an operational definition of TQM and the premise that both private corporations and schools share sufficient characteristics to merit the consideration of a common management approach, there remains the fundamental question of the feasibility of TQM for the public schools. Associated with this, one question that must be raised is: "To what extent is TQM a new vision for the management of schools?"

As noted throughout the preceding sections, a reasonable conclusion would appear to be that although many of the tenets of TQM are well-recognized and accepted in the professional knowledge base of educational administration, TQM is not generally presented or implemented as a single, unified administrative model in the public school sector. For example, elements of Krone's (1990) principles of TQM can clearly be witnessed in current reform/restructuring initiatives in schools. Moving teamwork, decision-making, knowledge, power, and participation to the lowest possible level is the underlying theme of the site-based management movement which is rapidly gaining ground on the traditional centralized governance model for school districts. The emphasis on strategic planning and vision statements can be seen in the fact that most states require and monitor these processes in schools and in the widespread popularity among educational administrators of the models, presentations, and workshops offered by such strategic planning *gurus* as Bill Cook, Shirley McCune, Joel Barker, and Roger Kaufman. "Competition replaced by cooperation" is the keynote of Glasser's (1990) Quality School concept and is receiving mass implementation in the form of collaborative or cooperative learning strategies, as advocated and researched by Slavin and associates. "Getting the process right the first time rather than fixing it later" is a foundational premise of Levin's Accelerated Schools movement, among others. "Networking of teams replacing hierarchies" is occurring in multiple facets of educational administration, from peer supervision to campus/community improvement councils. Indeed, the degree of emphasis being given to these very tenets of TQM can be found in Fullan's (1991) comprehensive prescription for effecting school improvement: vision-building; evolutionary planning; monitoring/problem-coping; initiative-taking and empowerment; staff development/resource assistance; and restructuring.

Another factor retarding continuous improvement/change is the traditionally entrenched culture of schools.

However, the element of TQM that appears to be most significantly lacking in school reform/restructuring remains "continual improvement, not snapshot or random fixes." There are several key factors which may help to explain this lack of consistency and failure to follow a coherent, consistent model.

First, there is the factor of time. As Leader (1989) notes: "Significant improvements to quality require managing a major, multiyeared iterative change effort" (p. 69). When asked how long it would take an organization implementing TQM to attain Toyota Corporation's present level of development in this approach, Atkinson and Naden (1989) estimated that it would take a minimum of 20 years. A search of the professional literature in educational administration suggests that only in the past couple of years has the TQM model, *per se*, been considered for implementation in public schools. Even for those educational institutions initially piloting this approach, it would be far too soon in the process to assess results.

Louis and Miles (1990) also note the impracticality of a commitment of other necessary resources, within the public school sector:

> If we look at private industry, for example, we see a number of successful strategies to promote "rapid turnaround," but few are relevant to public high schools. School systems cannot, for example, engage in massive changes in top-to-mid-level leadership in order to ensure that changes in policy are carried out. Nor can districts cut back on unprofitable products to acquire more productive ones. Their line of business is set by law, and they must deal with existing constituencies. Massive attempts to change organizational culture and goals are also found in industry, but these rely heavily on the development of resources for training and internal consulting that seem beyond the possible in the public sector.
>
> In our view, dramatic turnarounds may be desirable, but are unlikely to occur in most schools. (p. 115)

Another factor retarding continuous improvement/change is the traditionally entrenched culture of schools. Snyder and Anderson (1986) note six major cultural features of schools which would appear contradictory to the TQM philosophy: 1) role isolation vs. a group of work context; 2) role generalization vs. standards of productivity; 3) effort focus vs. a results focus; 4) job protection vs. skill proficiency; 5) personal interest vs. goal-based tasks; and 6) individual deficits vs. individual contributions. These same authors advocate certain specific changes which would appear to make school cultures more compatible with TQM. These include the need to assess individual performance in the work group context and in relation to work contributions, analyze student performance in relation to team objectives and results, and analyze the functional and operational subsystems in relation to their assistance to the team school improvement efforts. Until such cultural transformations, and others mentioned throughout this article, can be effected, Fullan's (1991) research on change would suggest that change implementation efforts would tend to follow a pattern of "snapshot or random fixes," with limited results.

Conclusion

Certainly, there is a basis for believing that TQM may hold merit as an administrative approach for the American public school system. The knowledge base in educational administration appears to be both substantial and in sufficient agreement with the basic principles of TQM to provide a foundation for implementation. What remains to be seen is whether sufficient cultural transformation will occur in schools to permit the consistent, continuous application of the TQM model. This dilemma may well hinge on the elusive, but crucial, variable of desire. Ron Edmonds voiced a similar conclusion over a decade ago when he pondered why schools were not operating at levels of effectiveness commensurate with the then existing knowledge base. Edmonds (1979) concluded:

> It seems to me, therefore, that what is left of this discussion are three declarative statements: (a) We can, whenever and whenever we choose, successfully teach all children whose schooling is of interest to us; (b) We already know more than we need to do that; and (c) Whether or not we do it must finally depend on how we feel about the fact that we haven't so far. (p. 22)

Although TQM may not be any more of a panacea for all of the problems and challenges faced by America's public schools than were Edmonds' effective schools correlates, TQM does offer some degree of hope for improvement. It remains that sufficient will must emerge to effect cultural change in schools and to permit the full implementation of what may represent the most promising practices in our current administrative knowledge base.

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Teachers' Shared Language and Practice as Important Factors in School Improvement

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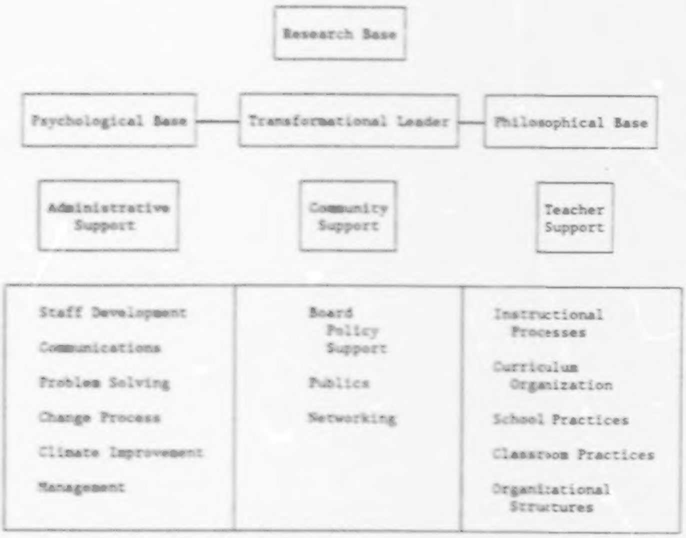
> When I read the article by Benjamin Bloom; whose major thesis is that under the right conditions, most kids can learn; education began to make a lot of sense to me. Whatever I say about the students, I will say about everybody in the district. Under the right conditions, I am absolutely convinced that 90 to 95% of the teachers will do a super job. I say the same for principals, and the same thesis holds for superintendents. (A. Mamary, Superintendent, Johnson City Central School District, personal communication, March 17, 1986)
>
> The ODDM model makes it possible to talk about education itself. (K. Jablonowski, high school teacher, Johnson City Central School District, personal communication, November 14, 1991)

These statements reflect the underlying instructional belief and the decision-making model that drive the Johnson City school district today. Located in New York state, the district has incorporated mastery learning and outcome-based instruction throughout its entire system, kindergarten through twelfth grade. The district has reported that by the "time students finish the 8th grade, at least 75 percent of its students are at least six months above grade level," and that "70 percent of its graduates earn the New York Regents diploma compared to a statewide average of less than 50 percent"(Vickery, 1988, p. 52).

Figure 1

Outcomes-Driven Developmental Model
Mission: All Students Will Learn Well



Desired Student Exit Behaviors

1) Self-Esteem as Learner and Person
2) Cognitive Levels--Low to High
3) Self-Directed Learner
4) Concern for Others
5) Process Skills • Problem Solving
Communication • Decision Making
Accountability • Group Process

Dr. Albert Mamary
Johnson City Central School District
8/87

The reform of the district that led to the development of "ODDM" or Outcomes-Driven Developmental Model (see Figure 1) in 1985 began when a newly hired superintendent and a small group of elementary teachers worked together to implement mastery learning in the early 1970s. In applying the "learning for mastery" research of Carroll (1963) and Bloom (1968) to students' learning and their own classrooms, the teachers and superintendent created curricular materials and instructional practices that were based upon this research but that also recognized the complexities of their local school culture. In this process and in the dissemination of their practices to other teachers, they developed a "homegrown" instructional language which in turn reinforced their belief in and practice of mastery learning.

Several studies (Burns, 1987; Canizares & Vickery, 1988; Desmond, 1990; de Suarez, 1985; Vickery, 1985, 1988, 1990) have researched the adoption of instructional change in Johnson City. These studies substantiated the roles of the superintendent and assistant superintendent as instructional leaders in the process of school improvement and the use of administrative reward structures to foster teacher change; examined historical, political, and social change in the culture of the community and the school district; and produced research findings on the effects of mastery learning on student achievement.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the role of the district's teachers in the initiation and implementation of the instructional changes and to explain the significance of teachers' roles in school improvement through current educational research, social learning theory, and sociohistorical psychology. Staff development was an important factor in achieving school improvement in Johnson City. Local teachers shared instructional practices through peer observation, modeling, coaching, and teaching and constructed a commonly understood oral and written instructional language

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based upon mastery learning. The teachers' strong social involvement in language construction and in peer dissemination reinforced their belief and practice in the instructional process and increased the effectiveness of the school improvement.

The research for this article was drawn from an historical analysis of the Johnson City Central School District and community during a 25-year period of curriculum reform and included both historical and ethnographic methods. Community documents examined included locally written histories, corporate papers, newspaper clippings, personal correspondence, and planning reports as well as U.S. census information on Johnson City and Broome County. School documents included school board minutes, superintendent support folders for board members, district curriculum statements and policies, superintendent correspondence, teachers' reports and instructional materials, school budgets, school newsletters, and parent surveys. Ethnographic methods included nonparticipant observation of classroom practice, of teachers' team meetings, of school board meetings, and of district conferences; and structured and informal interviews of school staff, past and present school board members, and community members.

Teachers' Roles in Instructional Change: The Johnson City Case

Grassroots efforts in instructional change began at the building level in Johnson City the year before the hiring of a superintendent in 1971. Teachers from three of the district's elementary schools reported to the school board on the initiation of projects involving team teaching, individualized learning, and continuous progress of students.

Six of the teachers involved in these innovations were sent by the district to receive training in an "open structured school" in another New York district implementing individualized learning within the concept of the "open school." Later, the board sent a group of board members, administrators, teachers, and parents to the same school district to observe these practices. Based upon this visit, the Johnson City school board hired this district's assistant superintendent as Johnson City's new superintendent. The group's report to the board on their visit contains the district's first public statement on mastery learning:

> The *instructional management* procedures found in the OPEN STRUCTURED [emphasis in the original] school is deeply rooted in learning theory—especially the idea that most children can achieve *mastery* of subject matter when proper provision is made for individual learning rates and style. (School Board Minutes, May 25, 1971, p. 659)

During the first year of the superintendent's tenure, these six teachers were placed in a small "incubator" elementary school where they were encouraged to implement these innovations. They met regularly among themselves and with the superintendent to discuss the results of their classroom practices and to write unit guides for their instruction. In January, the faculties of two other district elementary schools began to discuss the innovations with this team of teachers and the superintendent.

The following summer the board followed the recommendation of the superintendent by hiring this team of teachers to train teachers in the three other elementary schools in their local adaptation of mastery learning. At this time, the entire group of teachers wrote the first statement of school philosophy based upon Bloom's monograph *Learning for Mastery* (1968) and adopted the central belief of mastery learning "that most students (perhaps over 90 percent) can master what we have to teach them" (p. 1), which was then circulated throughout the district.

Peer training of additional district elementary teachers continued each summer in a similar manner. During the school year "novice" teachers were encouraged to observe the classroom practice of "expert" teachers in nearby classrooms and to engage in conversations concerning practice during the school day and in after-school meetings where district administrators were also present. Unit guides were shared, written, and revised during the summer and through the school year. In July 1974, a "district-wide teacher committee" crafted an eight-page statement of the district philosophy based upon the "factor that given enough time most pupils can master subject matter being presented" and "educational specifications" outlining the process of implementing this factor in Johnson City classrooms.

The second five-year phase of the implementation of the district's form of mastery learning began in 1976 and was directed at the secondary level. Staff training was based upon the elementary school model. A small group of teachers who agreed with the philosophy of mastery learning worked to establish successful practices in their own classrooms and to write unit guides. These "expert" teachers then became the models and coaches for other teachers at the secondary level and were hired by the district to conduct summer training sessions for other staff.

As additional instructional practices have been implemented in the district, this model of staff development has been used. Teachers who want to develop expertise in a researched practice consistent with the district's basic philosophy, receive training outside the district and return to experiment with the practice in their own classrooms. After evaluation of the effectiveness of the innovation, the expert teacher will then teach other teachers in the district, and together they will prepare instructional materials. Outside consultants are rarely brought into the district. As reported by Vickery (1985), "The spirit of this original staff development effort persists in that it is district personnel—usually teachers—who are the leaders...the in-house trainers who have both expertise and a strong sense of ownership" (p. 5).

Discussion

The effectiveness of Johnson City's means of disseminating instructional change teacher to teacher, classroom to classroom, and school to school via peer teaching and learning in a "homegrown" instructional language is supported by existing educational research and the theoretical models of Bandura's (1977) social learning and Vygotsky's (1962, 1978) sociohistorical psychology.

Bandura has argued that an individual's observational learning is strengthened if the individual knows the model's behavior is producing valued outcomes, i.e., the outcome expectancy. In the dissemination of instructional practice teacher to teacher in Johnson City, the "novice" teacher who observed and participated in the practice of mastery learning during training sessions and later in an "expert" teacher's classroom was able to determine that the practice produced valued outcomes for the expert teacher and, therefore, had his or her own learning strengthened. In Johnson City, such "valued outcomes" included recognition from the superintendent, positive evaluations by the building administrators, positive results from parent surveys and standardized tests, increased opportunities for additional employment and income, and teacher-cited evidence of increased student achievement and satisfaction.

In addition, the opportunity to observe the practice of mastery learning directly in a peer's classroom strengthened the novice's retention and precision of teaching practice in Johnson City. Proximity to "valued" practice provided the means for ongoing conversations with the expert teacher and for individual coaching on the implementation of mastery learning in the novice's classroom.

The value of such observation, feedback, and conversation regarding concrete teaching practice has been substantiated in Little's (1981, pp. 12-13) study of work practice in six urban schools. Little maintained that achievement of school improvement is increased by 1) "teacher engagement in frequent, continuous and increasingly concrete and precise talk about teaching practice," 2) mutual observation and feedback on teaching by both teachers and administrators, and 3) mutual planning, designing, researching, evaluating, and preparing of teaching materials by both teachers and administrators. These practices provide "the shared referents for the shared language of teaching" by all involved and "the precision and concreteness which makes talk about teaching useful."

Studies of instructional change in schools (Berman & McLaughlin, 1977; Dembo & Gibson, 1985; Ashton & Webb, 1986; Guskey, 1988) have also found that a teacher's efficacy, a construct defined as the extent to which a teacher believes he or she can affect student learning, is positively related to the percentage of goals achieved, the amount of teacher change, the continued use of innovative methods and materials, and improved student performance. Continuous access to model practice and curricular materials as well as the opportunity for daily contact with and support from the expert increased the novice's expectation for improving student learning and, thus, the teacher's efficacy.

Vygotsky's work, as well as the more recent sociohistorical psychological interpretations of it, supports the explanation that as one teacher taught another teacher in a commonly constructed instructional language and in the social interaction between novice and expert, the efficacy expectation of the expert teacher also increased.

Teacher language and praxis are important factors in the transformation of instructional practice.

Vygotsky's research probed the individual's internal interrelationships of thought processes, values, beliefs, and language. He maintained that thinking as an activity is dependent upon speech, and developed and maintained through interpersonal experience (Belmont, 1989). Vygotsky (1978) stated that the "internalization of culturally produced sign systems (e.g., language, writing, number systems) brought about behavior transformations and formed the bridge between early and later forms of individual development" (pp. 7-24). As a result, human psychological phenomena depend upon and are infused with social concepts and language (Ratner, 1991, p. 2).

Vygotsky's research led him to conclude that as soon as signs such as language were incorporated into any action, the action became transformed and organized along entirely new lines. Based on his research, a basic premise of sociohistorical psychology holds that since humans interact socially through language or other signs, "all psychological phenomena are moments of social consciousness and have a social conscious character" (Ratner, 1991, p. 2). The socially constructed consciousness is also changeable, but requires "praxis which alters the underlying social relations" (pp. 2-3). This research has led to the "important tenet of sociohistorical psychology that humans actively transform themselves as they transform their social and natural world" (p. 3).

In the practice of peer teaching, Johnson City's expert teachers used a socially constructed and commonly understood oral and written instructional language based on mastery learning to influence and shape the classroom practices of the novice teachers. In doing so, the novice's sense of efficacy increased and instructional practices changed. However, from a Vygotskian perspective, the expert teacher's thought processes were also influenced and transformed. The adage "to teach is to learn twice" reflects this view of the interrelationship of thinking and language. In the socially-constructed practice of teaching other teachers, the expert teachers transformed their own cognitive state regarding the practice and increased their own belief in the practice of mastery learning and in their own teaching efficacy. Thus, the mediation of language upon the internal cognitive state of the teacher reinforced the teacher's beliefs regarding student learning and the use of the instructional practice of mastery learning.

As the teachers and administrators developed "a way to talk about education" and socially demonstrated the practices associated with this talk, the capacity of the school district to sustain an interdependent pattern of activity also increased. March and Simon (1958) describe such a relationship as "the greater the efficiency of communication within the organization, the greater the tolerance for interdependence" (pp. 162-169). By standardizing their instructional language and reinforcing this language through peer interaction, Johnson City teachers and administrators increased the efficiency of communication within the organization and provided the means for increased interdependence among the classrooms and schools of the district. This increased interdependence helped to expand the practice of mastery learning throughout the system.

March and Simon also note that the relationship between communication and coordination of units in the organization is interdependent: when self-containment of organizational units decreases (e.g., the isolation of the self-contained classrooms, departments, grade levels of Johnson City), and the interdependence or coordination of the units increase, the likelihood of developing an efficient communication code like ODDM increases. March and Simon's model also predicts that once a pattern of communication is established, it will have an important influence on the decision-making processes of the organization such as the ODDM model has had upon the process of decision making in Johnson City.

Conclusion

This explanation of teachers' language and practice in the process of instructional change within the Johnson City school district emphasizes the significance of teachers teaching teachers in the achievement of school improvement. Shared practice through peer observation, coaching, and teaching in a "homegrown" instructional language, based upon research and a shared belief in this research—in this case, mastery learning—gave Johnson City teachers a means to construct the meaning of improved classroom practice in the local culture; increased teacher efficacy for both "expert" and "novice" teachers; enhanced the adoption of instructional change in the classroom; and through the increase of the interdependence of the organizational elements and communication, facilitated the expansion of the instructional changes. Teacher language and praxis are important factors in the transformation of instructional practice. When a common language exists where members of the organization understand the meaning of its signs within their local culture, the capacity to "talk about education" exists. This capacity enhances the opportunity for teachers to discuss belief and practice and strengthens the adoption of instructional innovations throughout the system.

This analysis of the role of teachers in the achievement of school improvement has two strong implications for district staff development. First, local teachers who have developed expertise in the innovations should be used by their districts as leaders, teachers, and ongoing resources in the instructional change process. Second, reimbursed time needs to be made available to teachers and administrators to construct an oral and written instructional language that is based upon research and shared belief and that recognizes the complexities of the local school culture. This research also supports the conclusion that "outsiders" (e.g., staff developers and externally constructed instructional materials) have, at best, short-term effectiveness without the active and continuous social, cognitive, and linguistic mediation of the local teaching culture.

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A Process for Moral Decision Making Within the Public Schools

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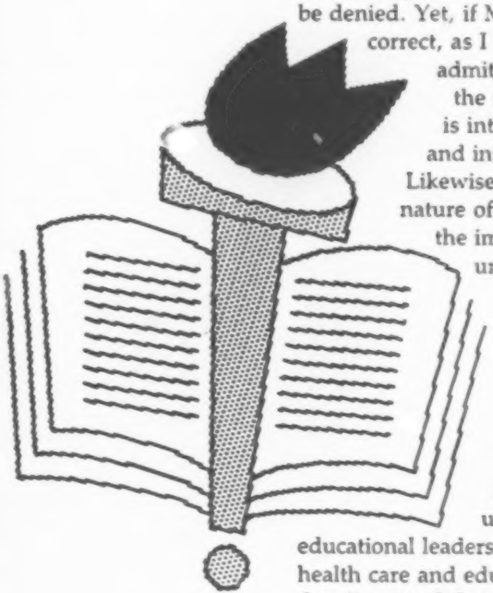
The purpose of this article is to provide questions and a broad ethical perspective from which the educational leader can develop a moral point of view and discern the ethical interrelationships between administrative practice and moral decision making.

Philosophers do not agree about the nature of morality, nor is there consensus in the philosophical community regarding the relationship between morality and ethics. Recently, such philosophers as MacIntyre (1981) and Hauerwas (1977) have argued that morality is tied to a community of shared vision, mission, values, and interests.

The public school is such a community. Thus, moral decision making should relate to and flow from the vision and mission of the school. That is, moral decision making is contextual; it relates to specific situations within specific communities or institutional settings. That this view is a brand of moderate relativism, as opposed to subjective relativism, cannot be denied. Yet, if MacIntyre and Hauerwas are correct, as I believe they are, it must be admitted that although morality is the name of nothing clear, it is integral to human personal and institutional development. Likewise, noting the relativistic nature of morality does not negate the importance and usefulness of universal moral principles. It is the application of moral principles which is personalistic, situational, and contextual.



In my personal opinion and experience, philosophical theory building in ethics or morality is usually counterproductive for educational leaders. In my work with both health care and educational leaders I discovered that "practical theory," that is, theory tied to practice, is a better way to elucidate the importance of applied ethics for administrators (Craig, 1989). As John Dewey says somewhere, "There is nothing quite as practical as a good theory."

What I will do, then, is to elucidate five questions that are usually necessary to ask when making moral decisions. The order in which the questions are asked is not as important as the asking of the questions. Put differently, asking one of the questions will necessitate asking most of the others. The educational leader, then, might initiate ethical reflection by appeal to a moral principle, and then consider subordinate roles and rules. Or, one might begin with one's moral intuitions about particular situations, events, and actions within the school and then check these intuitions against moral principles or rules. Finally, the educational leader might ask only one question, namely, can the decision become universal? One criterion of a moral decision or act is that one is willing to apply it consistently to all cases of a certain type (Kant, 1959).

Moral Decision Making

Why, though, is moral decision making important within the context of educational leadership? I think the reason is the same as when asked, Why should one be moral? To be immoral is tantamount to being irrational, for morality, among other things, is the giving of good reasons for acting in a certain way (Barrow & Woods, 1988). Would an educational leader desire to be called irrational?

Also, although I almost hesitate to say this, as it seems to trivialize morality, being moral usually has practical payoffs. Treating others with respect and dignity, keeping promises, and being as fair and equitable as possible, for instance, all aid in the actualization of what Bennis and Nanas (1985) refer to as "vision." They define vision as ". . . an uncommon ability to visualize a better future for an organization" (p. 14). The term "better" has normative implications, that is, to promote a better organization is to promote, among other factors, a qualitatively better situation for individuals to work and grow.

I will note shortly that ethics is, in part, reflection on the applicability of norms to various situations (Frankena, 1963). Keedy (1982) identified 14 norms concerning behavioral expectations in schools. Norms, though, should not be confused with policy or procedure. Rather, norms are expectations, and they are based on beliefs, values, and ethical commitments (Craig, 1990). To demonstrate the "payoff" of moral decision making within the context of a public school, I will mention two of Keedy's (1982) 14 norms: human relationships and modeling.

According to Keedy, human relations consist of the behaviors of humans in relationships. The educational leader who is sensitive to the moral dimension of administrative practice, then, is relating to others from a moral point of view, that is, the educational leader is involved in a relationship of respect for others. Thus, when norms (expectations) are developed, teachers, among others, are more likely to comply, since they know the educational leader respects them, believes in them, and assumes they are trustworthy.

Modeling is both a conscious and a subconscious process (Keedy, 1982). Educational leaders model positive behavior when they treat teachers with respect and dignity, that is, treat them from the moral point of view. As teachers become aware of the educational leader's moral perspective and framework, they (probably) will want to model it, since they like being treated this way. This can be accomplished at the conscious level when the educational leader informs teachers of the moral aspects of decisions, among other aspects. It is accomplished at the subsconscious level through interactions with teachers that indicate respect. Teachers are, then, more motivated to act the same way with administrators, students, parents, and others. Although I would not want to reduce moral decision making or ethical behavior to pragmatic usefulness, moral behavior does have the potential to issue in a more fully functioning and productive school.

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Theoretical Framework

There are basically five steps in the process of moral decision making. These can be addressed and articulated by asking five questions:

1. Are any moral principles violated?
2. Are any moral rules, obligations, or duties violated?
3. Is this case an exception?
4. Are the moral rules, obligations, and duties justified?
5. How can the moral rules, duties, and obligations be changed?

There is a more flexible, and to my mind, more meaningful approach to moral decision making than that suggested by such theorists as Beauchamp (1991). He elaborates a more rigid process whereby one gathers data or information, brings moral principles and rules to bear on the data, weighs moral alternatives, and comes to a decision. It strikes me that this approach is overly rationalistic and rigid—all the steps must be followed in order. This makes moral decision making appear to have a kind of scientific certainty, which it does not.

Are Any Moral Principles Violated?

The position I am taking, without elaborate argumentation, is consciously minimalistic (Craig, 1991). Although a large variety of moral principles could be enumerated, I think three principles suffice.

1. Do not harm.
2. Do not be unfair.
3. Do not violate another's freedom.

Admittedly, these are negative moral principles. Yet, they form the basis of our most fundamental moral obligations (Tong, 1986). I also realize that the principles may have exceptions in certain circumstances (the restriction of the freedom of students during a bomb threat, for instance). Although there are exceptions, these three moral principles are applicable to all persons all the time (Tong, 1986). An exception merely notes that the range of applicability is restricted, not that the principle is non-applicable.

I enumerated negative moral principles because they are easier to define and to apply than positive moral principles. For example, it is not clear when or how often we should do what the positive variant of the principles say—nor to and for whom. Take the issue of doing good for others. Many philosophers argue that doing good for others is NOT a fundamental moral obligation; it is an act of charity (Jacobs, 1989). Yet its opposite, not doing good, violates a fundamental moral obligation because manipulating others is immoral. Thus, enumerating negative moral principles avoids the difficulties inherent in using positive moral principles.

The example I wish to use throughout this article to provide consistency in applying each of the questions is collegial decision making. I want to argue that not implementing a form of collegial decision making between administration and teachers violates the moral principle "Do no harm." As Hoy and Miskel (1991) point out, successful educational leaders will learn the process of "facilitative power," that is, they will learn how to share decisions and will become facilitators in accomplishing tasks. This needs to be the case, as not sharing power and decision making is harmful to institutional development and to teacher growth.

Teachers come to the school with work needs, such as the need to be satisfied with their work performance. Teachers who participate in decision making, at whatever level is appropriate, are more likely to carry out the decision than if it is merely mandated by authority. Collegial decision making makes individuals feel responsible (Sashkin, 1982). Failure to satisfy teacher work needs, then, is harmful to them psychologically and professionally. This logically follows from the concept of "work needs." The inescapable fact, then, is that collegial decision making is an ethical imperative, if one accepts the minimalist moral principle of not harming others.

Are Any Moral Rules, Obligations or Duties Violated?

There are a number of widely accepted moral rules that follow from the above principles (Thiroux, 1986). Do not betray friendships, do not deceive others, and do not break promises are but three examples. These moral rules have a similar logic to moral principles, that is, they apply to all people in all cases. Ross (1930) has argued that such moral rules entail prima facie obligations. Since moral rules are subordinate rules derived from moral principles, and since one has a prima facie obligation to follow moral principles, it follows that one also has such an obligation to follow moral rules.

Likewise, there are other sorts of rules that hold a prima facie obligation—rules governing a particular way of life, such as business or public school administrative practice. Put differently, educational leaders have specific duties and obligations corresponding to their role. In a public school setting, for instance, role-specific duties specify who has particular obligations, to whom, and under what circumstances.

Step two, then, requires educational leaders to consider whether they are fulfilling the duties of their role. Obviously explication and clarification of the rules (both moral and otherwise) that govern administrative practice are necessary. Referring to the example of collegial decision making, such a facilitating responsibility becomes role-specific. That is, since non-collegial decision making is ethically unjustifiable, it follows that educational leaders have a prima facie obligation to fulfill the role of facilitative management and collegial decision making.

Is This Case an Exception?

Since moral principles and rules apply to specific situations in a prima facie manner, it follows that they have exceptions. But exceptions need to be justified, and this is the business of ethics (Rosen, 1978). The educational leader must demonstrate good, overriding reasons for allowing an exception.

Are there any situations in which non-collegial decision making is ethical? I can imagine a scenario in which the school recently has gone through demographic change in which the student body now consists of a large number of the children of recent immigrants. The teachers do not understand the language, customs, values, or learning style of the new students. At the same time a new principal is appointed to the school. The teachers need strong management, as opposed to collegial leadership. That is, the teachers need to develop confidence in themselves and in the new administrator, especially in the face of the recent changes in the school's student body.

As Tanner et al. (1991) note, a school can be hampered if the educational leader does not perform expected management tasks, such as calling meetings and developing policies and reports regarding the new students and the problems facing the school. Once the teachers feel they can trust the new principal, and when they have arrived at the point at which they feel confident teaching the new students, then collegial decision making can be initiated. Climates of survival often call for management skills so that the teachers can experience and feel the safety and confidence necessary to make collegial decisions (Hall, 1986). Thus, there can be exceptions to collegial decision making.

Are the Moral Rules, Obligations, and Duties Justified?

There are cases in which it is evident that a particular moral rule or duty is not justified. Perhaps the moral rule inherent in an administrative practice is actually harmful to teachers, or the educational leader has reason to believe that the moral rule could be improved in some way. There are times when the accepted way of doing things, even the "mandated" way, especially during times of change, may be immoral.

Thus, when it comes to applying moral rules, of which administrative rules may be a sub-category, the educational leader can question whether the rule—and the duty which follows from it—is a morally good one. If the rule violates the moral principle "Do not harm," for instance, it is usually wrong. The above discussion logically leads to the final question.

Can the Rules, Duties, or Obligations Be Changed?

The answer is neither theoretical nor philosophical, as much of the preceding has been. The answer is one of applied psychology or social engineering, or both. Some rule and role changes require political action or lobbying.

Dewey (1944) notes the connection between political, educational, and moral concerns. According to Dewey, ethics is not only concerned with what one ought to do (the ideal), or with judging actions and practices right or wrong. Ethics is also concerned with positive behavior—for instance, discovering what school (or district) personnel can do to change harmful rules and to create a better (and more moral) school climate.

. . . the ethical issue becomes broadening the decision-making process so as to receive input regarding various mechanisms of change.

This activity is referred to as applied ethics (Thiroux, 1986). Applied ethics is taking rules, practices, and obligations recognized as harmful and developing moral alternatives to create better ones. The point, though, is that ethics when applied to educational leadership often interfaces with political and social reality. This must be taken into account by the educational leader if meaningful moral change is to occur.

In the meantime, the educational leader has the moral task to evaluate what can be done within the context of the existing rules, practices, and obligations. Returning to the example of collegial decision making, when the management tasks are in order, the ethical issue becomes broadening the decision-making process so as to receive input regarding various mechanisms of change. There is this sense, then, in which collegial decision making is a moral imperative.

Conclusion

I have not spelled out in any detail exactly what an educational leader needs to do in every ethical situation or decision. My purpose is, rather, to give reasons why the educational leader should be involved in moral decision making and to supply questions from which the educational leader can both develop a moral point of view and discern the interrelationships between moral decision making and administrative practice. Ethics is not a science (fortunately), but at the very least this discussion should provide an invitation and a challenge for public school leaders to become more sensitive to the moral and ethical aspects of their profession.

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The Student Teacher Effect on Elementary School Class Achievement

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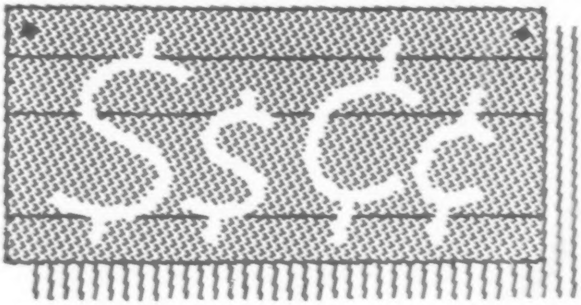
Introduction

As a parent, should you be pleased or displeased to learn that your child's classroom will be receiving a student teacher? As a teacher or administrator, what might you say to a parent who is displeased about the arrival of a student teacher? It is not difficult to imagine a list of pronouncements you might make as an anxious parent of a third grader or as an administrator put on the defensive.

A number of arguments could be made in favor of having a student teacher. Two adults available to children surely must be better for instruction than one. Or, a teacher charged with modeling effective teaching for a novice certainly will do the best job possible. Or, some adult companionship for a classroom teacher has to be a plus. (It can, at times, be lonely and taxing to have to spend the entire day almost exclusively with 25 third graders, being unable even to visit the rest-room without anxiety over what creative behaviors might evolve during such a brief absence.) This list could go on.

Arguments against having a student teacher might include the following. First attempts at teaching are rarely, if ever, memorable examples of excellence. Teacher time given to coaching a student teacher is time taken from needed sleep or instructional planning. The pool of student teachers includes the weak and ineffective who will never dare to teach after student teaching or who will last only a year or two as teachers. This list, too, could go on.

Only a few studies have investigated the effect on pupil achievement of having student teachers in the classroom. Given the number of children who are in such classrooms, this small number of studies seemed a bit surprising to us. Furthermore, in our opinion, previous studies that have addressed this question have lacked adequate research design to control for teacher effect, school building effect, or effect of perceived differential treatment.



At the secondary level, there appears to be some support for the proposition that having student teachers enhances pupil achievement (St. Clair, 1973). At the elementary level, studies done suggest very little or no student teacher effect on pupil achievement (Farnsworth & Garcia, 1980; Gaines, 1989). However, on the whole, teachers, pupils, and parents have positive attitudes toward the presence of student teachers (Deans & Directors, 1970; Morris & Pannell, 1987).

This study focused on student teacher effect on pupil achievement for grades 3 through 6. It was intended to offer a number of research design controls not found in earlier studies. As will be explained in the following section, our method was a completely non-manipulative, non-intrusive one that compared classroom achievement of a teacher with and without a student teacher. Our decision to sample common practice instead of imposing a set of research conditions was motivated by a desire to be able to comment on common practice.

Subjects and Method

For each teacher identified as a research subject, two sets of data were secured for comparing pupil achievement in that teacher's classroom while having a student teacher to pupil achievement in that same teacher's classroom while not having a student teacher. The *Iowa Tests of Basic Skills* (ITBS) was chosen as the instrument for measuring pupil achievement. The following definitions are offered here to help describe this study.

> X-O TEACHER: A teacher who taught two successive years at the same grade level in the same building and who had a student teacher during the first of the two years but had none during the second year.
>
> 0-X TEACHER: A teacher who taught two successive years at the same grade level in the same building and who had no student teacher during the first of the two years but had one during the second year.
>
> X-STUDENT: A student who was in a class that had a student teacher, a student for whom complete ITBS data were available for September of the year with a student teacher and for the following September, and who did not move (relative to placement in school building) during the school year under consideration.

O-STUDENT: A student who was in a class that had no student teacher, a student for whom complete ITBS data were available for September of the year with no student teacher and for the following September, and who did not move (relative to placement in school building) during the school year under consideration.

From data supplied by seven Iowa school districts, eight X-O teachers and eight O-X teachers were selected for each of grades 3 through 6, or 64 teachers in all. Effort was made to select teachers from a set of schools that would be representative of the state of Iowa as a whole. Furthermore, X-O and O-X teachers were chosen in pairs from the same grade in the same school district to cover the same two-year period. Selecting X-O and O-X teachers in this way was done to guard against the possibility that there might have been an influence of history that caused students at a given grade in a given district to gain more in achievement during one year than during another, such as a change in textbooks, or the influence of a teacher in-service program, or a change in curricular emphasis, and so on.

For each teacher, all X-students and O-students were identified. For each student identified, the two complete sets of ITBS scores were secured, the set for September of the school year with that teacher and the set for the following September. For each student, gain scores (from September to following September) were derived for each ITBS subtest and for the ITBS composite score. (Gain scores were derived from grade-equivalent scores, given in 10-month school years. For example, a student who scored 4.5 in September as a fourth grader and 5.3 in September as a fifth grader would have a gain score of eight months for the year.)

About 80% of students satisfied the definition of X-student or O-student. That is, about 80% of a given teacher's students were students who remained in the same school building from September to following September and for whom the two sets of ITBS data were complete. In all, there were 2,555 such students for the 64 teachers, requiring consideration of 5,110 sets of ITBS scores. The average number of such students for a grade 3 class was 18, the average for a grade 4 class was 18, the average for a grade 5 class was 23, and the average for a grade 6 class was 21. (Actual average class sizes were about five more than the numbers just given.)

For each teacher, X-gains and O-gains were computed, an X-gain being the mean of X-student gains from September of the school year with that teacher to the following September, and the O-gain being the same for O-students.

Finally, for each teacher, for each ITBS subtest, and for the ITBS composite, an X-O difference score was computed, the X-gain minus the O-gain. Thus, a positive number for an X-O difference meant that for that teacher the class that had a student teacher gained more than the class that had not, while a negative number for an X-O difference meant that the class that had no student teacher gained more than the class that had.

Results

At each grade, for each of the 11 ITBS subtests, a two-tailed Sign Test was applied to the X-O difference scores. Not one of the 44 such applications of the Sign Test yielded statistical significance at $p<.05$. (If for no other reason, this was surprising because one would ordinarily expect about one in every 20 such applications of the Sign Test to achieve $p<.05$ by sheer accident.)

Table 1 presents data for the ITBS composite score. Notice that for each grade the number of teachers whose class with a student teacher did better (X-O positive) is much the same as the number of teachers whose class with no student teacher did better (X-O negative).

Table 1. By Grade Level, Observations of X-O Differences for ITBS Composite Scores, With Means and Standard Deviations in "Months" of Achievement

Grade	N (Teachers)	N (X-O Positive)	N (X-O Negative)	Mean of X-O Differences	Standard Deviation
3	16	9	7	+0.18	1.93
4	16	8	8	+0.05	2.03
5	16	7	9	+0.03	2.16
6	16	8	8	-0.03	2.33

There is no evidence here that having a student teacher has any effect on class achievement.

The conclusion is an obvious and simple one: There is no evidence here that having a student teacher has any effect on class achievement. For grade 3, the not-statistically-significant, likely-accidental +0.18 months for the mean of X-O differences is less than four days (over a year) in achievement difference. The differences shown for grades 4 through 6 are even less, representing under a day. Combining grades 3-6 in Table 1, the mean of X-O differences is +0.06 months, about a day. Looking at individual student gains, as might have been done with a different research design, X-students on average gained +0.11 months more than O-students, about two days more, hardly a substantive difference.

Limitations

1. There were some types of teachers who could not be considered for this study, including the following: those who seem always to have a student teacher, since no O-class would exist for them; those who seem never to have a student teacher, since no X-class would exist for them; and those who switch grades or move between buildings with high frequency. It is completely possible that there is an effect on achievement in classes of teachers who seem always to have a student teacher. Clearly, those teachers readily accept student teachers and must be considered by their principals and university supervisors to be effective with student teachers. However, the direction of an effect, should one exist, is open to speculation. (Pertinent to this study, the percent of all teachers who fell into this category was low, well under 5%.)

2. The study considered only schools in Iowa that administered the ITBS in September, which may limit generalization. Relative to elementary school pupil achievement, Iowa may not be representative of the nation as a whole, since its students consistently score high on standardized tests. The average gain for classes involved in this study was 10.5 months. (Note: Considering only those 26 teachers whose classes showed average gains of less than 10.0 months, 14 showed X-O positive and 12 showed X-O negative. This suggests that the research result reported above is not seriously threatened by the "limitation" under discussion in this paragraph.)

3. Iowa's population is more homogeneous than that of the nation as a whole, and Iowa is fairly traditional relative to school structure and curricular offerings. It is possible, for example, that an inner city school using an open classroom structure would yield a student teacher effect on pupil achievement.

4. Achievement was defined by use of ITBS scores. Given today's debate over the use of standardized achievement tests, some readers may be inclined to take issue with defining achievement in this way. (However, since our effort did nothing to unseat the null hypothesis, taking issue with our using standardized achievement test scores reduces to agreeing with us that, indeed, the null hypothesis remains unmoved.)

5. The student teaching pattern for X-classes was to have the student teacher in the classroom from 12-16 weeks during a semester, assuming full teaching responsibility for no less than two consecutive weeks. Different patterns might produce different results.

6. A few of the X-classes had a student teacher during both semesters. (There was not a different pattern relative to the research question for those classes.)

7. Some X-classes had a student teacher during the first semester, some during the second semester. (No differences were detected between those two situations relative to the research question.)

8. There was partial "departmentalization" in some of the schools. For example, in one of the schools the three 6th-grade classes switched from room to room (teacher to teacher) in the afternoons so that one teacher taught all children social studies, another taught all science, and another taught all mathematics. This was the exception, not the rule. However, where it occurred, an "X-class" was sometimes an "O-class" for part of the school day, and vice versa. This seemed to be a problem worth mentioning only for some classes in grades 5 and 6. For those classes, the "contamination" just described was never for more than a third of the school day. If it did have an influence on the results of this study, that influence would likely be in the direction of suppressing any effect of having a student teacher. (Note: A consideration of only those classes known to have had no contamination showed the same result as reported above, which suggests that this limitation may not be a serious one.)

9. Measuring achievement gain from September to September assumed that student teacher influence on classroom achievement during the first few weeks of the student teaching semester is negligible to none. This seemed to be a reasonable assumption, since the student teachers tended to be mainly observers of the classroom and occasional tutors during the first few weeks.

10. Taking the second measurement in September of the school year following the treatment did put several months between the end of treatment and the check for an effect. (This may, however, be seen as an advantage to the research design if one agrees to the proposition that our interest is only in effects strong enough to survive a summer break.)

11. The colleges and universities that supplied the student teachers were from Iowa and offered teacher preparation programs largely determined by Iowa certification requirements. It is possible that different teacher preparation programs would offer different results.

. . . this study supports the conclusion that the effect on class achievement of having a student teacher is negligible or non-existent.

Discussion

In general—and in agreement with studies that approached the question quite differently—this study supports the conclusion that the effect on class achievement of having a student teacher is negligible or non-existent. (More accurately, since a null hypothesis is never really proven by sampling a population, this study supports the proposition that the null hypothesis in question here is remarkably resistant to attack.)

It did surprise us a bit that not one of the ITBS subtests showed a student teacher effect on pupil achievement. One might reasonably hypothesize, for example, that the additional individual help available to pupils by having a student teacher present would show in pupil performance on arithmetic computation, where dealing with systematic errors as soon as possible is of importance. As to future studies, the choices include: using different research designs aimed at challenging the null hypothesis; examining various components of student teacher activity relative to any possible effects on pupil achievement; examining teacher characteristics relative to advantage or disadvantage to pupils in having a student teacher; examining interactions between teacher characteristics and student teacher characteristics aimed at uncovering ways to assign student teachers to teachers that, in general, enhance class achievement; and so on. Returning to the debate suggested in the opening of this article, those who argue for or against accepting student teachers at the middle elementary level must do so on bases other than on an effect on class achievement. No such effect strong enough to survive a summer break appears to exist. In responding to the parent who suggests that his or her child's achievement will suffer because of the presence of a student teacher, the administrator or teacher may safely say that no research to date supports reason for holding such fear.

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Am I Certifiable?: Superintendents on the Move

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The Problem

Many superintendents want to move to a different setting, either to a larger school district or to one with different demographics. Since there are limited opportunities in any given state to make such a change, however, superintendents often apply for positions in different states. Typically, however, candidates for superintendent positions need to become certifiable/licensable in which they are applying. Because the rules for certification/licensure are decided by each state, portability of the credential into a new state is not assured, forcing superintendents to face the sometimes arduous task of certification/licensure.

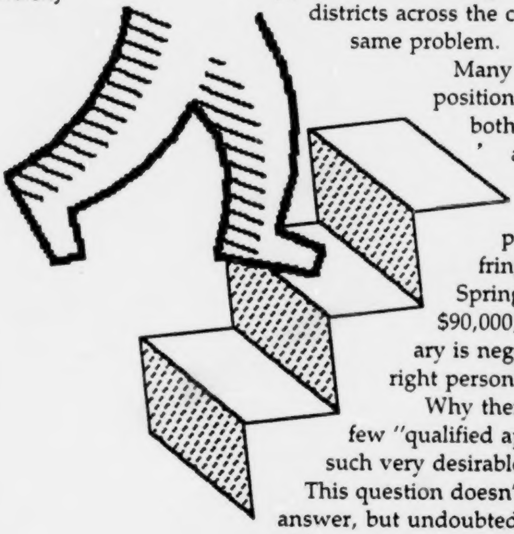
The Present

Chief school administrators seem to be an endangered species. According to a January 14, 1991 article in *Newsweek*, the average tenure of superintendents of large city school districts (e.g., Kansas City, Boston, Chicago) is two and one-half years, and there is a shortage of qualified applicants willing to take open positions. School districts in cities like Springfield, Illinois (population 100,000) also are facing a shortage of qualified applicants. The February 3, 1991 *State Journal Register* (Springfield, IL) reports:

> The Springfield public school district might have a tough time finding a new superintendent - there are fewer potential candidates for the job coming up through the ranks nationwide, and increasing numbers of school districts are looking for chief administrators. (Penner, 1991, p. 6)

Across the country, at least 17 large school districts are looking for superintendents, and their boards are finding that the pool of applicants is shrinking. Many mid-size districts across the country face the same problem.

Many superintendent positions are attractive, both in terms of salary and fringe benefits. Houston will pay $147,000 plus fringe benefits, and Springfield will pay $90,000, although salary is negotiable for the right person.



Why then are there so few "qualified applicants" for such very desirable positions? This question doesn't have a simple answer, but undoubtedly one of the problems concerns state certification or licensing requirements. After Ted Kimbrough was hired as the superintendent of the City of Chicago Public Schools, downstate superintendents were mildly amused to learn that he was not eligible for certification as a school superintendent in Illinois. The Illinois Legislature has since corrected this oversight by enacting special legislation. Most superintendents, however, cannot expect that quality of legislative support. Baptist (1989), in her study of certification requirements, noted that no two states had exactly the same certification standards. While there may be similarities among state requirements, there really is no reason for states to set the same standards. National certification of superintendents has long been a dream, but it is not yet a reality.

Superintendent vacancy announcements usually end with a disclaimer that "assurance of certification is the responsibility of the applicant, and the applicant should contact XYZ, Office of Certification/Licensing, State Board of Education, Capital City, XX." This leaves the applicant in a nebulous position. Telephone contact with the state official may result in an immediate opinion of possible certification, although such an opinion is likely to be informal. In many cases, however, an opinion will be rendered only after a formal evaluation of the transcript is completed, which can be costly and/or time consuming. In even worse cases, the contact results in receiving a poorly worded brochure or a copy of the state statute with vague references to administrative regulations.

Sparkman and Campbell (in press) in reviewing state certification of educational administrators noted the following:

1. States have the legal authority for certification of administrators.
2. There does not exist a single source of information about certification requirements in the 50 states.
3. In recent years, states have made many changes in the certification of school administrators including more specification of competencies and skills, use of testing and the use of non-renewable initial certificates.
4. Testing needs to be reviewed to determine what is being tested. Should the test reflect entry level knowledge and skills or should the test cover what an "experienced" administrator should know?
5. We need to consider the status of women and minorities and determine whether current certification standards discriminate.
6. The types of competencies and skills that have been delineated by the states reflect a blend of management and leadership.

7. We are seeing a more clear partnership between the states and universities in developing certification requirements for administrators.

Project Design

To further investigate this issue, the researchers conducted a national survey of certification requirements by state during the spring of 1990. Letters of inquiry were sent to each of the 50 chief state school officers and to the District of Columbia; of the 51 contacts, 47 responded. Each of the responses was disaggregated according to the following fields: Degree Required, Hours Required, Specific Courses Required, Teaching Experience Required, Administrative Experience Required, Clinical Field Experience, and Other. These descriptors seem to be critical discriminators between states and also appear to be the least negotiable. Baptist (1989) noted that state certification requirements are very slow to change. Many states modified their certification requirements during the 1980s in reaction to *A Nation at Risk,* and some states are still modifying their requirements; but the impetus has slowed.

Chief school administrators seem to be an endangered species.

Recognizing the complexity of the certification process and the short turn-around time typically given in job application brochures, the researchers are entering the disaggregated data into a data base, which will allow applicants to quickly determine if they meet at least the minimal stated requirements. When candidates don't meet at least the minimal requirements, then the certification process is likely to be frustrating, costly, time consuming, distracting, and disappointing. Table 1 displays the data on certification requirements in the spring of 1990.

The Future

Certification requirements for superintendents and the preparation programs of colleges and universities are very closely related now and will be in the foreseeable future. Unfortunately, there has not been a great deal of research and writing in this area. The American Association of School Administrators in 1982 published *Guidelines for the Preparation of School Administrators,* which provided a possible glimpse of the future. This document was prepared by AASA for use by state departments and training institutions in:

- refining certification and doctoral programs in educational administration.
- preparing for state, regional or national accreditation visits.
- strengthening the profession. (p. 2)

The guidelines were designed to complement certification requirements in the various states since they are applicable and basic to successful educational leadership at all administrative levels. The AASA document recognized six different challenges which were causing changes in the types of programs needed in schools and changes in the type and delivery methods for training effective educational leaders. These six sources of change were:

1. changing demographics
2. unstable economic structure
3. new technology
4. labor market opportunities
5. cultural diversity and human rights
6. changing family structures (p. 3)

Further, the report suggested that these challenges could be met only by changing the method by which administrators were prepared. This would necessitate changing the requirements for certification. This was an ambitious document published prior to the nationwide call for education reforms during the mid 1980s which led to new certification requirements in some states. Many reforms suggested in the document were implemented, including improved assessment programs to determine the entry level competencies of graduate students, the use of more adjunct professors to combine theory and practice, a greater use of simulation materials in the classroom to make programs more like the "real world," and an increased use of field-based clinical components, usually identified as an "internship" experience.

According to AASA (1982), chief school administrators must be capable of doing the following:

1. Establish and maintain a positive and open learning environment to bring about the motivation and social integration of students and staff.
2. Build strong local, state and national support for education.
3. Develop and deliver an effective curriculum which expands the definitions of literacy, competency, and cultural integration to include advanced technologies, problem solving, critical thinking and communications skills, and cultural enrichment for all students.
4. Develop and implement effective models of instructional delivery that make the best use of time, staff, advanced technologies, community resources and financial means to maximize student outcomes.
5. Create programs on continuous improvement, including evaluation of both staff and program effectiveness as keys of student learning and development.
6. Skillfully manage school system operations and facilities to enhance student learning.

7. Conduct and make use of significant research as a basis for problem solving and program planning of all kinds. (p. 6)

The AASA believes that all students completing administrative preparation programs should be able to demonstrate competence in each of the seven goal areas.

In 1989, the National Policy Board for Educational Administration published *Improving the Preparation of School Administrators: An Agenda for Reform* which outlined three areas of change: people, programs, and assessment. Several of the recommendations, which would result in the greatest change in the preparation programs, in the commitment of candidates, and potentially in the salary level of superintendents, were:

. . . the requirement of passing a national test should not be an automatic requirement for superintendents, particularly those serving in small rural schools.

Entrance standards to administrator preparation programs be dramatically raised to ensure that all candidates possess strong analytic ability, high administrative potential, and demonstrated success in teaching including

- Assessment of analytic ability and administrative aptitude by a standardized national test, with admission to preparation programs limited to individuals scoring in the top quartile
- Assessment of teaching excellence by state licensure, a Master's Degree in teaching, and evidence of successful teaching in a classroom setting
- The doctorate in educational administration (Ed.D.) be a prerequisite to national certification and state licensure for full-time administrators who are in charge of a school or school system
- Sixth year or specialist degree programs in educational administration be abolished for this level of position
- Programs in educational administration terminating in a Master's Degree be abolished altogether
- One full-time year of academic residency and one full-time year of field residency be included in the Ed.D. preparation program. Modifications in the type or duration of the clinical residency are permitted for candidates with full-time administrative experience in education. Additional appropriate program requirements are to be determined by the faculty of the graduate school or graduate division in education at each institution. (National Policy Board for Educational Administration, 1989, p. 6)

One of the recommendations of the National Policy Board for Educational Administration was to develop a national professional standards board, consisting primarily of practicing school administrators, that will be charged with developing and administering a national certification examination. The National Policy Board also recommended that states be encouraged to require candidates for licensure to pass this exam (p. 7). While the writers would agree that superintendents desiring national certification should have to demonstrate their competence, the requirement of passing a national test should not be an automatic requirement for superintendents, particularly those serving in small rural schools.

In the introduction to *Leaders for America's Schools,* Griffiths, Stout and Forsyth (1988) identified 10 "troubling aspects" in educational administration. Two of these were:

1. Lack of licensure systems that promote excellence and
2. Lack of a national sense of cooperation in preparing school administrators. (p. xiv)

They also identified several roles that different groups could play in resolving problems associated with administrator preparation. Some of their suggestions were:

- *Professional Organizations*—Recruit intellectually superior and capable individuals into administrator preparation programs. (p. 13)
- The profession should be involved in the preparation of educational administrators, especially in planning, implementing and assessing programs. (p. 14)
- *Universities*—Recognize that administration preparation programs should be like those in professional schools - emphasize the theoretical, clinical knowledge, applied research and supervised practice. (p. 17)
- *States*—Each state should have an administrative licensure board to establish standards, examine candidates and issue licenses. (p. 22)
- Licensure should depend on the completion of a state-approved program and demonstration of knowledge, skills, and evidence of performance.
- There should be a two-tier licensing system—entry level and fully licensed. An administrator could be fully licensed only after three successful years of full-time administrative performance.
- There should be no granting of temporary licenses.
- The license should be portable from state to state. (p. 22)

The last recommendation is seemingly in conflict with the recommendation that each state has its own licensing board although, as was noted earlier, states clearly have the right to establish their own certification requirements. Also, the only role that the National Policy Board proposes for the federal government is the funding of research in educational administration.

Recommendations

It seems logical to the writers that national certification will be possible only if there is some type of national clearinghouse to oversee the process. Sparkman and Chapman (in press) stated the need for a national clearinghouse or database for state certification information. They noted that such a national clearinghouse would be especially important in light of the rapidity with which state requirements change. If nothing else, a national clearinghouse would give states contemplating a change a source of information (p. 22). It is the intent of the writers to pursue this need and to seek to establish a national clearinghouse for certification requirements. Further, we would recommend that state certification agencies review the brochures which they dispense to applicants. In most cases they are poorly written and are not user friendly. A possible solution for this would be to have the department of tourism review it for readability and ease of use.

The writers would propose that the recommendations advanced by both the AASA and the National Policy Board be combined and that national certification be granted upon completion of the following:

1. Completion of a doctorate at an NCATE-accredited institution.
2. Completion of a state-approved preparation program in educational administration.
3. A minimum of three years documented effective experience in the central office of a school district. An alternative would be the completion of a one-year, full-time paid internship in the central office of a district of at least 5,000 students. Either of these alternatives would be in addition to documented significant, effective teaching experience, and effective experience in a management position where a majority of the time was spent in curriculum development activities coupled with the supervision and evaluation of teachers.
4. Successful completion of a national competency test that is designed by a national professional standards board, consisting primarily of practicing school administrators.

Implementation of these recommendations would likely result in three different types of school administrators practicing in the states. First would be the "old-timers," prepared under prior programs and grandfathered into certification. These administrators would probably be successful for the rest of their careers, but would find their opportunities for advancement more limited over time. Second would be the "state line" administrators who probably received training at a non-doctoral degree granting institution within their home state, would be geographically limited to the state, and would be constrained for upward mobility by the lack of a terminal degree. Third, would be the "national administrators." These persons would be placed in national searches at the same level as the "state-line" administrators, because certification would be assured and would not be a concern of the employing districts. The end result would be a larger pool of candidates for a national search with greater opportunities for boards of education but also higher salary expectations on the part of the candidates. Soon, one could expect to see even larger differences between the successful candidate in the national search and the successful candidate of the state or regional search.

Certification has become a maze of regulations and very few states offer true reciprocity. Unless a process of national certification is achieved, candidates involved in a national search will find the process even more frustrating in the years ahead. The insistence by state legislatures on the use of assessment centers, layered certificates, and national examinations are all laudable goals—but only if they are part of a national certification program. However, as part of a state plan, they act to reduce the pool of qualified candidates for any particular position, increase the frustration of boards of education and legislators, reduce their satisfaction with the candidate, and increase administrator turnover.

National certification or national reciprocity is an idea whose time has come.

National certification or national reciprocity is an idea whose time has come. The mobile character of the population of the 21st Century demands that school administrators be allowed to practice their craft in any school district that needs their particular talents and skills without being burdened by parochial and burdensome licensing/certification regulations.

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Table 1. State Certification Requirements for Superintendents, Spring 1990

State	Degree Required	Hours Required	Specific Courses Required	Teaching Experience Required	Administrative Experience Required	Clinical Field Experience	Other
Alabama	Masters		Exceptional Child educ Admin	3 years		3 s.h.	2 levels 5 & 6 year
Alaska	Masters			3 years			regency credit
Arizona	Masters	45		3 years		yes	
Arkansas	(30 hrs.—EDAD) Masters	Grad Hours 60		3 years	1 year		*acceptable scores on NTE in EdAd & Supv
California	M.S. in EDAD			3 years	2 years	1 year	CBEST at least 123
Colorado	Masters			3 years		yes	
Connecticut	Masters +	30 *Beyond M.S.	Foundation Ed-EDAD Curr-Supv-Personnel	8 years combination	3 years		
Delaware	Masters +	30	Curr-Business Adm Supv-Personnel	3 years		1 yr/lieu of 1 yr teaching	
District of Columbia	Masters			*5 yrs in field of education	Asst Prin 2 yrs OR Supervisor 4 years		*eligibility determined by special panel
Florida	Masters		Communications Mgmt-Operations	3 years			ELECTED POSITION Cert. test for Principal
Georgia	Masters		Supervision Curriculum	3 years combination	1 year		Certification Test
Hawaii	Masters	21 EDAD		5 years	1 year	Sch Adm Training	Tenure in Dept of Educ
Idaho	Ed.S.	Post-masters 35	Finance-Spec. Serv. Personnel-Fed Prog C/S Relations	4 years	1 year	1 year	
Illinois	Masters +	30	6 hrs-PublicSchGovn 6 hrs-PublicSchMgmt 6 hrs-Educ Planning	2 years	2 years OR	yes	Basic Skills Test-Subj Matter Test
Indiana	Ed.S.		12-18 hrs-EDAD 12-18 hrs-Instructn 9-18 hrs-Thry/Rsrch	3 years	5 years		*Out of state must have Supt endorsement from another state
Iowa	Masters + Ed.S.	30	Gen Elem-Theory-Law Early Adol-Curr, S-C Secondary-Finance Prsnl-Facilities	8 yrs (with 3 in adm.)	3 years	yes	
Kansas	Grad Degree		Prsnl-Finance Law-Curriculum	2 years			
Kentucky	Masters +	36	Supt-Finance Facilities	3 years	2 years		*Renewal requires additional course work

Table 1. State Certification Requirements for Superintendents, Spring 1990 (Continued)

State	Degree Required	Hours Required	Specific Courses Required	Teaching Experience Required	Administrative Experience Required	Clinical Field Experience	Other
Louisiana	Masters	(30-EDAD) 48	Law-Prin-Rsrch Supt-Finance Curr-S/C Relation Foundations		5 years		*Asst Supt must meet same requirements
Maine	Masters *In any field but preferably Ed Admin		S/C Relations Law-Supv-Thry Finance-Curr Leadership	3 years	3 years	15 wks or 1 full yr as Asst. Supt.	
Maryland	Masters +	15	Supv-Curr Content	3 years	2 years		
Massachusetts		24		3 years	3 years	300 hrs	
Michigan	Masters		Ldrshp-Law-Mgmt Finance-Supv-Curr Adult Education	3 years			
Minnesota	Masters + or Ed.S.	45		3 years		200 hours yes	
Mississippi	EDAD Masters			2 years			At or above 25% of NTE Exam
Missouri	2 yr grad program		Psych-Rsrch-Law City Schs-Finance Supv-Curr-Prsnl Design/C-S	4 years combination			Recommendation Assessment
Montana	EDAD Masters	24	Facilities-ELED Finance-El Curr PR-Sec Educ & Curr	3 years	1 year	1 year	
Nebraska	Ed.S.				in same system 2 years		*6 sem hrs grad work completed within last 3 yr
Nevada	Masters +	9	EDAD-Law-Supv Finance-Curr	3 years			
New Hampshire	Certificate of Advanced Grad Study		Supv-Planning-Law Finance-Facilities S/C Relations-Curr			25 hr in-service	Board of Review Screening
New Jersey	Masters	30	EDAD-Law Supv-Curriculum	3 years	3 years	a yr can be substituted for 1 yr adm exprnce	*written exam as of 2/89
New Mexico	Masters		18 hours in EDAD			180 hours	NTE
New York	Masters	60	24 hours in EDAD	3 years combination		yes	

Table 1. State Certification Requirements for Superintendents, Spring 1990 (Continued)

State	Degree Required	Hours Required	Specific Courses Required	Teaching Experience Required	Administrative Experience Required	Clinical Field Experience	Other
North Carolina	Ed.S. *Masters			3 years	1 year		*10 sem hrs must have been earned in 5 yr precede application
North Dakota	EDAD Masters		Admin-Curr-Supv)20 Finance- Law)hrs	includes adm 4 years	2 years		Both sec & elem suprv courses required
Ohio	Masters	60	Curr-EDAD Foundations		3 years		Recommendation Cert Exam
Oklahoma	Masters +	30	Personnel-Finance Planning-Law Supervision	2 years	2 years		1 week summer training
Oregon	Masters		Planning-Law S/C Relations			4 sem hrs	
Pennsylvania	2 yr grad program *70 sem. hrs.			6 years combination	3 years		
Rhode Island	Masters	36	S/C Relations-Curr Research-Finance Supv-Evaluation	8 years combination			NTE
South Carolina	Masters			7 years combination	2 years		Adv training prog for supv 590 on NTE
South Dakota	Masters			3 years *2 yrs must be teaching	1 year		Teaching Certificate
Tennessee	Masters +	30	Supv-Curr-Finance Facilities-Trans C/S Relations	5 years			
Texas	Masters +	15					EXCET Exam
Utah	Masters				2 years	yes	
Vermont	Masters EDAD		Planning-Finance Facilities-Law Personnel-Curr	3 years	2 years		
Virginia	Masters	60	Curr-Prsnl-Supv Facilities-Finance S/C Relations-Law Research-Planning Philosophy of Educ				
Washington	Masters +	10	State Approved Program	2 years			Regency credit
West Virginia	Masters			3 years			GenContentTest Employed—Supv of Instruction

Table 1. State Certification Requirements for Superintendents, Spring 1990 (Continued)

State	Degree Required	Hours Required	Specific Courses Required	Teaching Experience Required	Administrative Experience Required	Clinical Field Experience	Other
Wisconsin	Ed.S.		S/C Relations-Curr Finance-Personnel Evaluation-Ldrshp	3 years		yes	
Wyoming	Ed.S.	60	EDAD-Law-Finance Supv-Personnel Curr-CurrentTrends	3 years			

Asking the Right Questions in a Self-Study

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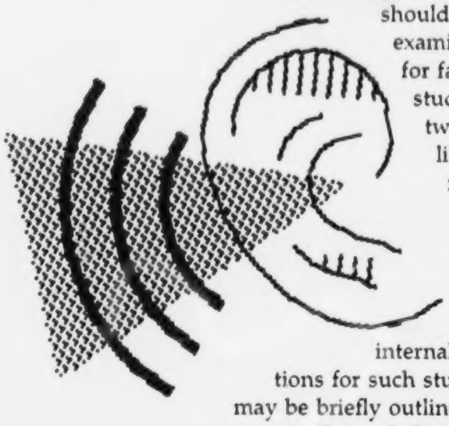
Have you ever experienced an event unexpectedly turning out wrong? You shake your head and think, "Wow, I didn't ask the right questions about that one!"

Such surprises can happen in a self-study of your school. I remember conducting one years ago using the Evaluative Criteria (Pace, 1986) often used in self-studies for accreditation. Our steering committee was reviewing the initial report from the library subcommittee. The subcommittee had rated all criteria very high, yet several members of the central steering committee had grave reservations about the library services students were receiving. Suddenly a principal on the steering committee said, "These criteria don't ask the right questions—they don't address the issues that concern us the most!" We ended up revising every section of the Evaluative Criteria (EC) so its questions forced us to think more critically about our program's impact on students.

In the pages that follow I hope to help local staffs understand the value to students of conducting good self-studies. I will promote this viewpoint by describing a set of procedures a faculty can use to ask the questions and examine the issues that will lead to significant improvements in the instructional program for students.

Reasons for a Self-Study

Since the questions asked in a self-study should reflect its purposes, let's examine the traditional reasons for faculties conducting such studies. I believe there are two types of reasons, one likely to be external to the needs and interests of the local school faculty, the other motivated by interests internal to the school. Sometimes there may be both internal and external motivations for such studies. These two reasons may be briefly outlined.



1. *External.* Some interest outside the local school pressures the faculty into doing it. For example, the board or administration wants to gain or maintain membership in an accrediting agency. If this is not the case, perhaps the administration is trying to deflect criticism from its critics by carrying out a study. In another district, the staff may have scheduled a mandatory self-study for the state department.
2. *Internal.* The second type of reason is related to the genuine interests the faculty has for its students. The faculty wishes to use the results of the study to improve the program for the students.

If the purpose is externally motivated, some faculties will likely view the self-study as a mere activity to complete for someone else. In such circumstances the commonly used Evaluative Criteria are satisfactory. For the faculty that sees the self-study as a mere exercise, it makes sense to conduct it in the perfunctory manner that is possible by using a plan such as described in the EC.

Using the EC, the faculty would form committees, collect data about the school program (little data will be directly about students), and assign ratings. More than likely, committees will assign high ratings to their program because subtle external pressures on them will encourage this.

If, on the other hand, the faculty views the study as an opportunity to capture the interests of the central administration and the board, it should talk about different issues. If it wants to develop support for change in making the school a better place for students, it must ask the right questions! This means asking student-centered questions in the self-study. By "student-centered" I mean questions about the effect of the program on the academic, emotional, and social lives of the students.

The Pitfalls of Ratings

While the faculty should ask many questions related to student achievement, it should not rate the program. I say this because high ratings often cover up problems that need attention:

- Ratings (arbitrarily assigned values on a vaguely defined rating scale) can lead to a false sense of quality.
- Many of the criteria on the instrument may not be related to a quality program for *all* students.
- The faculty may have given high ratings to create a positive image for the public (low ratings for a school program would not look good in the newspaper).
- Ratings don't point toward specific program improvements. Knowing the math program is a "4" doesn't tell the faculty

what specific changes it should make for the program to be a "6."

Ratings thus can raise much mischief for the subcommittee honestly trying to improve the math program for students. The faculty simply cannot learn what specific improvements to make from looking at a set of ratings.

Identifying the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Program

Instead of rating the program, the faculty should behave as good detectives do. It should ask questions that will lead to uncovering the strengths and weaknesses of the program and its precise effects on students. Such information should help the faculty know what changes it should make to enable *all* students to succeed in a quality instructional program. (I am assuming that a faculty has already adopted a belief system that includes a conviction that all students can learn.)

. . . the faculty should behave as good detectives do.

For the faculty that views a self-study as a strategy for school improvement, let me describe what I see as a desirable process. I warn those who are considering these procedures—I'm not suggesting it is easy to carry out the process. At the end I will, however, describe ways in which the faculty could reduce the overall work load.

Procedures to Use in a Self-Study for Program Improvement

Phase 1: Decide What Student Data to Study and by What Bench Marks it Will be Judged

Since the purpose of the self-study is to improve student performance, it is logical to focus on students' accomplishments. The faculty should ask questions about what the students are learning, about their attitudes, and, of course, about their conduct.

Standardized test scores are often the only usable information available for such an analysis. Therefore, useful information about student achievement in academic areas not measured by standardized tests is usually not available. (Because of the high degree of subjectivity in course grades, the faculty cannot use them for such a purpose.) The typical school will have little, if any, information about attitudes and behavior of students.

The faculty should decide whether to confine its review to standardized test scores. Since these tests don't measure some of the most important outcomes, it is likely that the faculty will decide to use some new assessment procedures. For example, it may find itself developing new ways of measuring student attitudes, written composition, oral language, and the like. Faculty members should be aware that they may be able to obtain non-traditional assessment devices from the National Assessment of Educational Progress, produced by Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey, or from their state department of education.

Most faculties following these procedures will soon realize that they don't have the resources to measure every student characteristic. Having to make a choice, they will likely decide to assess what they think most important in relation to the decisions they may eventually want to make.

The faculty can consider several different bench marks, or standards, by which to judge student data. (1) It can compare its students' scores to scores of other students. For example, it might compare standardized achievement test scores to those from a nationwide sample of other students. (2) It can compare individual students' scores to predictions of what each should achieve based upon academic aptitude. (3) It can use student outcome objectives as the standards. For example, the faculty may have an objective that says, "Students will write for different purposes." The faculty can use such standards as bench marks against which to assess actual achievement.

Each type of standard has strengths and weaknesses, and a faculty should carefully consider the pros and cons of each before deciding which to use. For example, using state averages as the standard provides the community with information about how its students compete statewide but gives little direction for specific program improvements. Comparisons with local objectives give direction toward specific program changes, but don't help those who want to know how the students compare to others. The faculty may decide to use more than one standard in order to counter the weaknesses of one comparison with the strengths of another.

Phase 2: Collect Student Data and Compare it to the Bench Marks

Collecting student data may be as simple as gathering up test printouts to as difficult as first developing assessment instruments and then administering them. Since the faculty will use the data for deciding program improvements, it often will be appropriate to obtain it from only a sample of students.

The faculty should be very cautious in comparing class or school means to test norms. Looking at group averages can give a false picture. For example, several students scoring very high can mask a number scoring very low, the resultant average covering up the serious problems of low achievers.

Faculty members should summarize findings from the data collected. Findings might include statements such as the following:

1. In each of the last four years our sixth graders grew 1.2 Grade Equivalent points in reading comprehension.
2. Primary grade students missed an average of five days per year, upper elementary students missed an average of four, and junior high students missed an average of 10.
3. Ninety-eight percent of the discipline referrals were for boys whose reading level was three or more levels below the typical student in our school.
4. Only 5% of our high school band students come from lower SES families.
5. Twenty percent of our high school students don't participate in student activities. At the other extreme, 20% of the students participate in five or more activities per year.
6. Two percent of our students have changed schools two to five times during the last year. Of these students who have changed schools frequently, none made the honor roll.
7. Over a four-year period, year-to-year math achievement was essentially the same for the typical student in the state.
8. Eighty percent of our seniors met the student objectives set for math and written composition.
9. Ninety percent of our students met the attendance objectives set by the district.
10. Last year, 15% of our secondary students received one or more failing grades each quarter.

Phase 3: Form Tentative Conclusions About Student Characteristics

After reviewing all the findings, the faculty should develop tentative conclusions. The staff might organize these into three groups:

1. Conclusions that are clearly positive points ["Ninety percent of our students did very well on the standardized reading test"]
2. Conclusions that are clearly concerns ["Many of our students feel alienated from school"]
3. Conclusions about which the faculty needs to gather more information ["Over time, our LD students continue to fall farther and farther behind"]

Phase 4: Raise Questions About the Reasons for any Deficient Achievement and Design Procedures to Obtain the Information Needed

. . . the faculty should raise questions about any variable that could be affecting achievement.

To find out how to improve the school program, the faculty should raise questions about any variable that could be affecting achievement. It should ask questions about the school curriculum, instructional practice, school climate, community factors, family conditions, etc. Repeatedly, it should ask, "What might be impeding the progress of this group of students? Why aren't they participating more?" The faculty should continue asking questions until it has explored all its concerns about any student who is not achieving well.

From the new questions asked, the faculty should select those most likely to explain the shortcomings in student achievement. There are several possible causes for widespread poor performance. Poor performance might be the result of deficiencies in the curriculum, not providing enough teaching or practice time, or using poor teaching methods. Students might be too involved in activities, or have too many non-school responsibilities. The point is, the faculty should design procedures for confirming what the likely causes of the problems are.

To investigate the problems, the faculty might decide to do a number of things. A subject area committee might observe classes; or it might develop questions to ask students, parents, or teachers. It might decide to complete additional diagnostic tests of the students.

Phase 5: Collect Additional Information About the Factors Affecting Students

The faculty should collect the new information it needs to further investigate why students aren't meeting the standards. The staff should then analyze the data and summarize the findings. It might form conclusions such as the following: "English teachers spend 70% of class time teaching formal grammar and virtually no time teaching writing," or "Teachers devote approximately 20% of their math instruction to teaching problem solving."

After the faculty collects additional information, it should compare the new findings with the tentative conclusions developed in Phase 3. It is likely that the new data confirm some initial conclusions and perhaps contradict others. Most likely, the faculty will have uncovered new data that result in additional conclusions concerning the need for program improvement.

Phase 6: Develop Conclusions and Recommendations Related to Program Changes That are Likely

The faculty should develop conclusions related to program changes. It might conclude, for example: "The reading program meets the needs of average and above readers but doesn't meet the needs of slower learning students." Another might be, "Teachers give students of varying learning rates the same amount of time to learn." Another might state that insufficient teaching and learning time is the basic cause for the math achievement problems in the school.

The faculty should develop conclusions related to program changes.

On the basis of the conclusions the faculty formed in the previous phase, it should prepare recommendations for program changes. Examples might include: "The district should adopt a new reading program suitable for all students," or "Teachers should change their schedules so that slower learning math students receive more teaching time each day." Another might recommend that the principal reorganize the school so that during reading and math periods more adults are available to meet the needs of individual children.

Phase 7: Set Priorities and Implement the Recommendations

Recommendations from such a careful study will likely run the gamut from minor policy changes to major purchases. The school should determine which recommendations to accept and in what order the faculty will implement them. The availability of money for purchases and for staff development will likely be the major considerations in setting these priorities.

Final Thoughts

The approach to program improvement I have recommended is very time consuming. Therefore, I suggest sharing the work in some fashion. A faculty can spread the effort in several ways. It can involve more than one school faculty within a district; two or more districts can cooperate in a joint study. Or, if it is an accreditation study, a school can use an "outcomes" model that has been developed by one of the regional accrediting associations (see end notes). In such a model the faculty completes parts of the study each year, making it more of a continuous effort at program improvement.

I hope the procedures I have described will help school faculties see the potential for program improvement in such approaches to a self-study. My experience using such an approach reveals that far more insights into ways to improve a program for students will arise than from the traditional study. Far from being a perfunctory workbook exercise, such a self-study can be like a fascinating detective story. There is a thrill in ferreting out and correcting the causes of poor student achievement!

End Notes

The North Central Association is currently promoting an "Outcomes" model of self-evaluation that has similar features to some I have suggested.

References

Pace, V. D. (Ed.). (1986). *Evaluative criteria.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, National Study of School Evaluation. The Evaluative Criteria are currently being revised and preliminary information about the revision suggests the new instrument will be significantly improved.

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Technology's Place in Curriculum Reform

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I recently read a draft of a State Technology Plan that called for the use of three separate, distinctive types of computer centers in the schools —Basic Skills, Communication, and Information Skills Centers. My first impression is that this division is logical, as far as it goes, but not really sensible. It's logical because the computer functions are generally distinct. Basic Skills involves drills and a management system. Communication involves word processing and the use of modems and perhaps video equipment. Information Skills includes the use of modems and compact and laser disks.

So why isn't this sensible? It isn't sensible for educational and economic reasons; there are also issues of staff development and work requirements that need to be faced.

Addressing the educational issues first. Research tells us that precisely those students who most need to improve their basic skills will be most successful at improving them, not through rote practice, but through a process-based approach that integrates interesting, thematically-organized content, complex ideas, oral communication, teacher modeling, reading, and writing. Whether we are planning for remediation or acceleration, the heart of the curriculum reform movement is to improve curriculum through exploration of, and communication about, conceptually rich content. Basic Skills should be addressed primarily within the overall, enriched instructional context and not as isolated drills. When a particular drill is needed, it should be carefully tied to and practiced in the whole language context so there will be successful retention and transfer. Using a computer center to teach Basic Skills could isolate the student from the process.

Looking specifically at the concept of a Communication Station, the potential importance of telecommunications (and perhaps multimedia) cannot be overestimated. People around the nation and indeed the world who are communicating via technologies at the speed of light can open the way to a wide range of learning experiences, particularly in science and social studies. Currently, however, so much of what passes for communications skills—kids telecommunicating—turns out to be the most superficial sort of writing. I've visited many projects where the teacher in charge has told me with considerable pride that 298 students had sent messages to Australia this week. When we looked at the messages, they read, "My name is Tom. I'm ten years old. I like Big Macs..."

One lovely, unanticipated spin-off from the use of computers is that, unless students are plugged into basic skills workstations when working on computers, students do communicate with and teach one another. It is important that we see communication as the basic ingredient in creating a face-to-face community within the classroom and the school—among students, teachers, and administrators. This in-class communication should be our first goal. In the name of a Communication Center, we could end up concluding that communication is something that takes place over modems, basically a technological, long distance, glamorous event, and overlook the fact that communication is, first and foremost, a local, human event. Two ideas that get at this nicely are: "The great thing about computers is that they enable you to communicate with the classroom next door." And, "The best peripheral for a computer is another chair."

What about Information Skills? Surely the citizen of the future needs to know how to access all kinds of online information. Yes, certainly, however, we must keep in mind that to access extensive and complex information assumes that students have excellent reading, writing, text organizing, and word processing skills. It's difficult to do justice to online information until you have sophisticated conceptual and written language skills. Indeed, there is a danger that students will substitute downloading information, and perhaps even massaging it, for the hard work of searching for relevant information and fashioning it into a well-organized report. Until we do a much better job of developing research and report writing skills, the downloading of information from CD encyclopedias and larger electronic sources could be dysfunctional. It could end up providing students with the appearance of having generated a mature, thoughtful product when in fact what has been produced is a few articles "cut and pasted" together.

This is the heart of my concern with separate workstations for Basic Skills, Communication, and Information Skills—Are we not in danger of enlisting technology to further institutionalize a fragmented, skills-and-product-based approach at a time when all of our theory, research, and best thinking advocates process-based, integrated instruction?

This issue leads directly to a related concern—staff development and staff productivity. In how many directions can we ask teachers to move? What is the best way to introduce technology to teachers and, through teachers, to students? What kinds of computer workstations do teachers need to make them more productive and to facilitate their transition into the information age?

It seems that the average teacher has a good deal of trouble understanding how to use a computer as a personal productivity tool, and even more trouble understanding how to integrate it into instruction. What is the average teacher going to do when confronted with computer centers for Basic Skills, Communications, and Information Skills? The teacher will need to understand and be able to operate three different hardware configurations and three very different sets of software.

In the May 1990 *Minnesota Update,* published by the Minnesota Department of Education, the results of the study, "Computer Tools for Teachers," which sampled 7,371, or 20%, of Minnesota's teachers, states the following: "The majority of teachers rate their word processing skills as high or medium.... Databases show a dramatic reversal in teacher proficiency.... Graphics skills are only slightly higher than databases.... The percentage of teachers who are unfamiliar with desktop publishing is very high.... Word processing is the skill teachers indicated the most interest in learning."

It is a happy coincidence that our current interest in writing across the curriculum dovetails with word processing.

It is a happy coincidence that our current interest in writing across the curriculum dovetails with word processing. It could be argued that for the purpose of general education in grades 1-12, word processing is the most powerful computer function for supporting thinking. Word processing is clearly the basis of the proposed Communication and Information Skills Centers. And it could be that word processing should be at the heart of the Basic Skills program as well.

My final concern with the separate work stations approach is economic. Hardware, software, multimedia, telephone lines, security systems, and staff development are very expensive. While there is something conceptually pure, if misleading, about imagining the three separate centers, it is extremely expensive. For any school, district, or state technology plan to make sense, it has to work within a very limited budget. This means that we will have to ask the very difficult question: How can we get the best educational result for each dollar spent?

We know that complex systems change slowly and that they change by a series of little changes. They also change when people see how the changes help them do what they want to do more successfully, or more easily. This surely is one of the reasons teachers are drawn to word processing. Word processing fits snugly within our current curriculum beliefs—writing across the curriculum, the writing process, and cooperative learning. It is very economical. Both the hardware and software requirements are minimal compared with hardware and software that is specialized to support other curriculum areas. Finally, word processing offers teachers an excellent curriculum environment for design, storage, instruction, and dissemination. Word processing would be the main tool for a teacher workstation.

Clearly, our long-term goal of students using computer workstations in order to access information and communicate globally is appropriate. But, considering the economics, and the staff and instructional issues, wouldn't we be wise to set as our primary first year goal that teachers and students will use word processing effectively to problem solve, communicate with one another, and improve their reading and writing skills across the curriculum?

If we begin with this simple, integrated, and economical approach to curriculum and computer use, teachers will feel in control of the instructional process they are working to improve. Thus, we can achieve sophisticated instructional outcomes based upon the richness of our curriculum rather than upon reliance on sophisticated and expensive technology centers.

An earlier version of this article was published in *ISTE Update,* 3(7), newsletter of the International Society for Technology in Education.

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Review of *The Unschooled Mind: How Children Think and How Schools Should Teach*

Howard Gardner, Basic Books, 303 pp. $23.00

James Marshall
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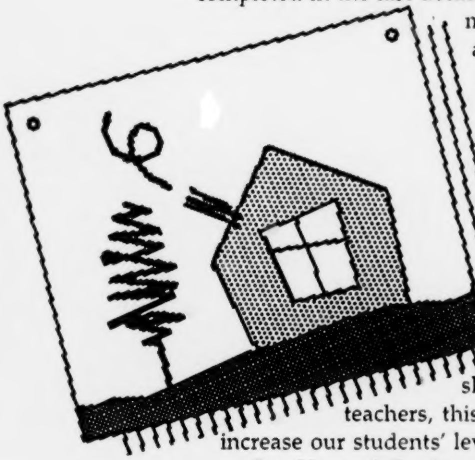
At one point in this thoughtful book on teaching and learning, Howard Gardner asks a provocative question: what would we do if we had the opportunity to recreate schooling from the ground up? How would we respond if some cataclysmic event destroyed the institution as we know it, and our task became to invent a system of education that would achieve all of the goals that we have currently set for our students and for ourselves? Would we build again what we already have? Or would we accept the challenge to re-imagine the shape and dynamic of schooling—the challenge to start over?

Although history is not likely to present us with such an opportunity, Gardner's question is a useful point of departure for discussions of what we really want from schools. It returns us to first principles: how do children learn, and what should we teach them? It is in the examination of these issues, Gardner argues, that we can learn best how to revamp the schools that we already have.

We might begin, for instance, by addressing what seems an essential purpose of schooling: to provide students with a basic core of knowledge about their own culture. Such a core would include, at the very least, coverage of what the West has achieved in history, literature, mathematics, science, geography, and language. It would pass on to students the understandings we have come to and the tools we have learned to use. It would provide students, in other words, with the means to carry forward the cultural projects and institutions that we have inherited and that we hope can be maintained. Such a vision of schooling has more than a few adherents—Mortimer Adler, E.D. Hirsch, and William Bennett come immediately to mind—and it is difficult to see how we could reject the premises on which such a vision is based.

The only problem, of course, is that we are not even close to achieving this most basic purpose. Virtually every test, national educational report, and international educational comparison completed in the last decade has documented the decline of American students' achievement in measures of basic understanding. These measures only underscore more anecdotal reports from our own classrooms and communities. The story is so familiar, in fact, that I don't need to rehearse it here. Schools, as we know them, are in trouble. The question that needs answering is what we should do about it.



One response—the kind offered by Adler, Hirsch, and Bennett—is to specify more exactly what the content of the school's curricula should be and then to test students to make sure that they have "gotten" that content. It is an argument to do better than what we have always done—teach harder, test more often. Hovering around the edges of this project, of course, is the additional suggestion that such tests might tell us how well teachers are teaching, which in turn could tell us which teachers we should reward. By being a bit more directive with both students and teachers, this argument goes, we might be able to raise test scores, and thus increase our students' level of understanding.

But Howard Gardner has a different suggestion, and in many ways, his book can be read as an extended and eloquent argument against the teach more/test more refrain we have heard with such frequency in recent educational debate. Drawing on the increasingly large body of research on how children learn and the comparably large body of research on how students perform in school, Gardner comes to a startling and unsettling conclusion: children's ways of learning are not consonant with schools' ways of teaching. Or, to put it more pragmatically, it is not that schools currently do not teach students as well as we'd like, it is that they *cannot* teach them as well as we'd like, given the way they are currently designed.

Children learn best, Gardner argues, when they are engaged in a kind of conversation with the material they are learning. They make hypotheses about that material—guesses about the way things work. And then, under the guidance of the teacher, they reformulate those hypotheses, coming to newer and more productive theories that with time, effort, and many errors will eventually begin to resemble the theories of disciplinary experts—the biologists, physicists, and historians who are doing the groundbreaking work in their various fields. But—and it is an essential proviso—we cannot hurry the process. We cannot skip the part where the student struggles, makes mistakes, revises the hypotheses, makes more mistakes, and then finally comes to reasonable and defensible theories about the world. If we do skip that process, we will, in some instances at least, produce students who can use the right terms, talk the right talk, look as though they have come to an understanding of the material we have been teaching. In fact, we will produce students who will sometimes pass the tests that we have designed to show that they have come to such understanding. But Gardner is at pains to show that such measures cannot tell us much about whether students have truly understood what we have been teaching. Understanding is achieved when our most basic conceptions of the world have been challenged and carefully rebuilt; when the algorithms, scripts, and stereotypes that we learn as children have been confronted and their limitations recognized; when the process of learning is valued as highly as its products. These goals cannot be met, Gardner argues, until our own scripts and stereotypes about schooling have been confronted and their limitations recognized—and that clearly will be a long and difficult undertaking.

Children learn best, Gardner argues, when they are engaged in a kind of conversation with the material they are learning.

Howard Gardner has given us one way to begin, however. By returning us to first principles, he has given us a way to initiate a discussion that is long overdue. His book should be read by all of those who are planning to participate in that discussion.

Review of *The Unschooled Mind: How Children Think and How Schools Should Teach*

Howard Gardner, Basic Books, 303 pp. $23.00

Margaret Finders
Teaching Assistant,
Curriculum &
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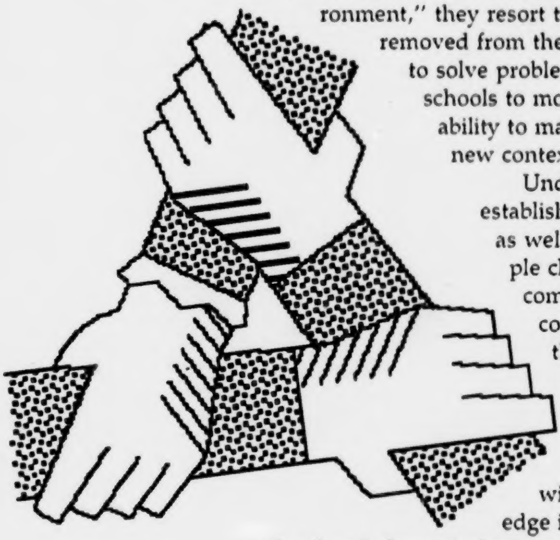
Howard Gardner has done our homework for us. Beginning with Piaget, Chomsky, and Vygotsky and continuing through Dewey, Bloom, and Hirsch, he leads readers of *The Unschooled Mind* through a rich and restless tour of cognitive psychology and educational reform. As his subtitle reveals, the mission of this book is to explore "how children think and how schools should teach." *The Unschooled Mind* is not another woeful account of school failures, nor is it another vicious attack on teachers, administrators, or society. Gardner does not deny, however, that a school crisis exists. In fact, he conceptualizes the crisis as the mismatch between how students actually learn and how schools have traditionally taught. *The Unschooled Mind* presents a persuasive argument to restructure schools to facilitate the developing minds of our students toward deep understanding within the disciplines.

Rather than compiling longer lists of materials to be covered, reformers should build in strategies for deeper understanding. Gardner's focus for reform is on the learner, not on exterior forces. What's the best way to make schools better? In his search for solutions, Gardner provides extensive and valuable examples of effective curricula, pedagogy, and assessment that are real and workable. Readers will not find, however, a prescribed recipe of reform that can be inserted readily into schools across the nation.

In Part I, Gardner delineates his theory of learning. He argues that young children develop intuitive theories to help them make sense of the world and that a "five-year-old mind" drives decision-making in even advanced learners. Unless the biases and misconceptions of these early theories are exposed explicitly and repeatedly, they interfere with students' abilities to gain genuine understanding of a discipline.

Through comprehensive compilation and review of research in mathematics, science, and the arts and humanities, Gardner discloses in Part II how even students at the undergraduate level hold tightly to early stereotypes, biases, and misconceptions when asked to solve problems in new contexts. While students can respond correctly to questions posed in a "text-book-test environment," they resort to their early theories when placed in real life situations. If learning is removed from the text-book-test environment, students rarely demonstrate an ability to solve problems adequately or appropriately. Thus, Gardner sets as a mission for schools to move students toward deep understanding which he defines as the ability to make appropriate decisions in applying and adapting knowledge in new contexts.



Understanding the complexity of learning, as Gardner so thoroughly establishes in Part I and Part II, demands that reformers make philosophical as well as methodological changes in schools. Gardner warns against simple changes that can be implemented readily but that do not provide the components necessary for deeper levels of understanding to occur. The conflict often confronted by educators is in Gardner's terms between the "correct-answer compromise" and the "risks for understanding." Because of institutional demands for accountability, schools have become driven by correct answers. When schools are content with correct answers that simply show an acceptance of a ritualized, rote, or conventional performance, students are not confronted with the need to synthesize, integrate, or transform forms of knowledge into everyday situational contexts. "Risks for understanding," on the other hand, force students to confront the conflicts and inconsistencies of previously held misconceptions. "Risks for understanding" provide that necessary leap from the text-book-test environment to more sophisticated forms of application in real life settings. Recent outcries to prepare students to function successfully in the business and university setting mandate deep understanding in the school disciplines.

How strategies might play out in an actual school is not left to the imagination of the readers. While "authentic assessment" and "portfolios" circulate as the most current buzz words in educational reform, much literature on the subject does more to confuse rather than make these viable instruments for classroom use. Part III of *The Unschooled Mind* will be a useful tool for teachers, administrators, and curriculum planners. In it, Gardner provides rich and detailed solutions that have been implemented across the nation. Calling for richly contextualized learning situations, Gardner cites exemplary programs that employ the elements necessary for deep understanding to occur.

He documents implementation in programs such as Project Spectrum and The Key School in inner-city Indianapolis. Elementary school students there participate in apprentice-like activities in which they work with different age peers and a competent teacher to pool their knowledge and design real-world projects, meet with outside specialists who demonstrate occupations or crafts to all students, and accumulate a video portfolio in which progress is collected and assessed both by the teacher and individual students.

It is both optimistic in its outlook for the future and . . . real in its presentation of programs that work.

Apprenticeships and children's museums contain effective means to assist students in moving toward the integration of new knowledge. Because different ways of knowing are demanded by different disciplines, Gardner demonstrates how apprenticeships and children's museums can facilitate the negotiations necessary for the development of knowledge in specific disciplines. The key, he writes, "is to devise learning environments in which students naturally come to draw upon their earlier ways of knowing and to configure those environments so that students can integrate these earlier forms of knowing with the formats of knowing that are necessarily and appropriately featured in school" (p. 180).

Apprenticeships and children's museums also provide different entry points into learning for students whose intellectual competence may be more kinesthetic and less linguistic or logical. Drawing on his theory of multiple intelligences, as explained in *Frames of Mind: A Theory of Multiple Intelligences,* Gardner contends that the educational bias toward linguistic modes of intelligence may not be present outside of the school setting. He suggests that curriculum planners not only recognize, but also employ all the modes of intelligence to better meet the needs of learners in their present learning situations and in preparation for learning outside of the school environment.

Reducing the gap between the "agenda of school" and the "agenda for life" does demand change, but many of the programs that Gardner cites are not expensive, nor do they call for extensive structural changes in the school. In the wake of claims that schools are ineffective, *The Unschooled Mind* can be a valuable source for productive change. It is both optimistic in its outlook for the future and, more importantly, real in its presentation of programs that work.

Journal of Research for School Executives

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The Editorial Board of the *Journal* invites the submission of manuscripts for publication consideration. The *Journal* is refereed and is published by the Institute for School Executives of the College of Education, The University of Iowa. The *Journal's* intended audience includes education executives, school staff members, board members, and other interested persons.

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Current Perceptions of School Administrators Regarding the Implementation of P.L. 94-142

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The "Education for all Handicapped Children's Act" (P.L. 94-142), currently the "Individuals with Disabilities Education Act" (IDEA), has been implemented in public schools for over 15 years. The purpose of the Act was to coerce the public schools into providing educational services to students with disabilities, especially those students historically excluded from public education. Federally mandating institutional practices regarding minority populations should theoretically result in a more accepting stance toward serving them (Hersey & Blanchard, 1972) and the eventual provision of services without a federal role. Whether this law has promoted such acceptance and/or has assured educational services for students with disabilities needs to be explored.

Various reports (e.g., Council for Exceptional Children, 1984; U.S. Department of Education, 1988; Wertlieb, Horvitz, & Donnellan, 1986) concerning compliance with the federal mandate have been developed specifically to discern whether disabled children and youth are receiving appropriate educational opportunities. Additionally, several researchers have noted attitudinal changes toward students with disabilities subsequent to the passage of P.L. 94-142 (e.g., Gans, 1987; Garvar-Pinhas & Schmelkin, 1989; Prillaman, 1983; Stainback, Stainback, & Stainback, 1988). The findings in these reports and surveys have been generally positive. The law is "working well to ensure a free, appropriate public education for all handicapped school-aged children" (Council for Exceptional Children, 1984, p. 15); and while school personnel have concerns about the implementation of mainstreaming students with disabilities, "there is strong support for the values and principles involved" (Task Force on Mainstreaming, 1984, p. 33). In an attempt to replicate some of these findings and to obtain current data regarding the federal special education mandate, the perceptions of those administrators entrusted with day-to-day operations were surveyed. By virtue of their leadership positions, school administrators are critical to the process of educating special education students (Garver-Pinhas & Schmelkin, 1989). Specifically, special education directors and principals in Texas were asked to assess whether P.L. 94-142 has been effective, to judge how well the law is being implemented, and to offer their perceptions regarding issues found to be of concern in previous studies.

Purpose

Two groups of school administrators—principals and special education directors—have primary responsibility at the local level for operationalizing P.L. 94-142 and assuring appropriate public education for students with disabilities. For over 15 years general and special education administrators have viewed the impact of P.L. 94-142 from a unique standpoint. The perceptions of these two groups of administrators regarding the effectiveness of P.L. 94-142 could be of particular interest in judging public educators' stance toward serving students with disabilities. The purpose of this study was to obtain answers to the following research concerns: (1) how special education directors and principals in Texas currently view the implementation of P.L. 94-142; and (2) how the two groups differ in their perceptions. Additionally, it was thought that these survey data might offer a basis for speculation about whether coerced change (i.e., the federal mandate) has resulted in agreement by school administrators with the law's basic propositions.

Method

Instrument

A 56-item questionnaire was mailed to all special education directors in Texas, and a 39-item questionnaire was mailed to principals in the same school districts. Elementary and secondary principals were randomly selected from various school districts across Texas. No attempt was made to obtain responses from directors and principals who did not respond to the first questionnaire. It was thought that the sample was both representative and adequate for the purposes of this study. The survey was anonymous in order to encourage honest responses. The questionnaires included some items that were identical for both groups and some that were particular to each group. The types of questions included: (1) demographic questions, (2) questions with a 5-point Likert scale (i.e., 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = no opinion, 4 = disagree, and 5 = strongly disagree), (3) one multiple-choice question, and (4) two multiple-response items.

The conceptual basis for item selection revolved around several sources. Since the purpose of the survey was to obtain a broad view of the implementation of P.L. 94-142, both perceptions and attitudes were tapped. Survey items were chosen to represent and reflect:

1. Some of the attitudinal factors regarding mainstreaming delineated by Larrivee (1982), adapted for administrators, which are:
   a) a general philosophy regarding mainstreaming
   b) disruptive elements of serving special education students
   c) perceived ability to serve special needs children
   d) classroom teacher issues
2. Some major propositions of P.L. 94-142 (i.e., least restrictive environment, the provision of related services, team meetings, individualized education plans (IEPs), and parental involvement)
3. Common complaints from school administrators (based on the authors' own experiences) regarding teacher skills, availability of materials, discipline problems, time management, and adequate funding
4. The effective schools literature (Orlich, 1989; Wayson, 1988) as to factors that might positively impact mainstreamed students
5. General attitudes toward serving students with disabilities in the public schools. Items in this category were exploratory in nature.

Sample

Of the 364 surveys mailed to special education directors, 234 were returned, yielding a 64% response rate. Almost half (46%) of the responses were from rural districts, with 44% coming from urban/rural and suburban districts, and the remaining 10% from a combination of urban/suburban and urban districts. Half of these districts had less than 500 special education students, and half had more than 500 special education students, with 4% reporting more than 4,000 special education students. These statistics are fairly representative of Texas, which is basically a rural state with 1,100 primarily small independent school districts.

One half of the special education directors, 60% male and 40% female, were employed in a special education cooperative serving several local education agencies. The majority of directors (65%) had 10-20 years experience in special education and 1-5 years teaching experience in special education.

There was a 73% return rate of surveys from principals, with 687 mailed and 501 returned. About half of those returned were from elementary schools (PK-6), with the other half being evenly divided between middle schools (7-8) and high schools (9-12). Each of these principals worked with a special education director, and 56% of them worked in a district where the students are served by a special education cooperative. Of the principals (98%) reporting their gender, 85% were males and 13% were females. Forty percent of these principals were employed in rural districts, 23% in urban/rural districts, 22% in suburban districts, and the remaining 14% in urban or urban/suburban districts. These statistics generally match those of the directors and appear to represent this predominantly rural state.

Statistics

Frequencies were tabulated on all items in order to determine those survey items with which most respondents agreed, and those with which they disagreed. Comparisons were made between the two groups of respondents and within each group by combining the respondents who checked "agree" or "strongly agree," and by combining those who checked "disagree" or "strongly disagree" on the Likert-scale items. Some respondents chose the "no opinion" option on some items, so percentages reported in the tables do not always equal 100%.

Results

The results are reported in four sections: areas of agreement, areas of disagreement, areas of concern, and a section dealing with multiple-response items. Areas of agreement include those items on which special education directors and principals both generally agreed with the item or those items where they both generally disagreed with the item. Areas of disagreement include those items where special education directors and principals differed in their perceptions (e.g., principals generally disagreed and directors generally agreed with an item).

Areas of Agreement

Over 90% of the respondents in each group reported that P.L. 94-142 and the integration of students with disabilities into public education has been effective, with 27-30% indicating that it has been very effective and 63-66% indicating that it has been moderately effective. Both groups also agreed that rules and regulations are necessary to ensure the effective instruction of handicapped students (special education directors, 80%; principals, 71%). This might imply that without a federal mandate (coercion), special education students would not receive appropriate educational services in Texas. Specific survey items on which both groups agree are delineated in Table 1.

Neither group felt that special education students disrupt the operation and organization of the local campus (83%, 84%) and there was strong agreement that special education students benefited from association with non-handicapped students. The two administrator groups felt that IEP meetings and parent involvement benefit special education students. They also believed that special educators support "mainstreaming" and strive to teach skills to promote successful integration of special education students.

. . . and the integration of students with disabilities into public education - has been effective

Table 1. Likert-Scale Items on Which Both Groups Gave Similar Responses

	SPED Directors	Principals
Rules and regulations are necessary to ensure effective instruction of the handicapped.	80.0% agree	71.3% agree
Special education teachers strive to teach skills that will promote mainstreaming.	82.3% agree	82.7% agree
Special educators support mainstreaming.	94.0% agree	88.2% agree
Special education students benefit from association with non-handicapped students.	97.0% agree	93.2% agree
Parental involvement generally enhances a special child's education.	95.3% agree	90.0% agree
IEP meetings enhance the education of special education students.	82.3% agree	70.3% agree
Special education students disrupt the operation and organization of the local campus.	83.3% disagree	84.2% disagree

On items asked only of principals, responses indicated principals' general support of P.L. 94-142 by their disagreement with the following statements (see Table 2):

- Special education students should be housed outside the building (83% disagreed)
- IEP meetings create negative relationships (88% disagreed)
- Parents of special education students cause more problems than other parents (77% disagreed)
- Special education students should not be mainstreamed in English, Math, Science, and History (71% disagreed)

Areas of Disagreement

While principals and special education directors appeared to share the same overall views regarding the integration of special education students, they differed in their perceptions regarding some aspects of the federal mandate (See Tables 3 and 4). Areas of disagreement were determined by a 15 point or greater difference between groups on the combined percentages (i.e., strongly agree/agree and strongly disagree/disagree).

Aspects of the Law

When asked if special education classes are used to accommodate regular education student disciplinary problems, only 10% of the principals agreed with the statement, but 30% of the special education directors perceived that this was the case. While both groups agreed (94%, 88%) that special educators support the mainstreaming practice, 63% of the principals indicated that general education teachers also support mainstreaming and only 44% of the special education directors agreed with this statement.

Table 2. Principals' Responses to Likert-Scale Items Not Asked of Directors

Survey item	% Agree	% Disagree
IEPs are written for the primary purpose of meeting the requirements of the law.	51.9	39.5
The IEP causes teachers to view special education students as individuals because it requires each teacher to assess each student's individual skills.	64.9	21.6
Teachers do not understand the needs of special education students.	49.9	40.9
Regular teachers do not implement IEPs that are written for mainstreamed special education students.	39.9	44.9
I spend too much administrative time on the special education program (i.e. paperwork, IEP meetings, etc.).	38.9	50.9
I would prefer that special education classes be housed out of the building.	10.4	82.8
I understand and relate well to special education students.	88.3	4.4
Parents of special education students cause me more problems than parents of non-special education students.	15.6	77.4
Most teachers are not trained to work with special education students.	72.5	20.8
Students should not be mainstreamed in classes such as math, English, science, or history.	19.0	70.9
IEP meetings create negative relationships between parents of special education students and the school.	7.0	88.0
I cannot address both P.L. 94-142 mandates and regular educators' concerns regarding mainstreamed students.	16.0	63.9

Table 3. Likert-Scale Items on Which Both Groups Responded Differently

Survey Item	SPED Directors		Principals	
	Agree	% Disagree	% Agree	%Disagree
Special education classes are used to accommodate regular education student discipline problems.	29.9	65.4	9.6	88.4
Regular educators generally like special education students.	38.6	51.5	61.5	25.8
District administrators generally like special education students.	43.3	45.5	73.5	12.4
Regular educators support the "mainstreaming" practice.	44.3	49.2	63.3	29.9
An inordinate amount of resources are spent on special education students relative to the amount spent on regular education students.	5.1	90.6	43.7	51.1

Table 4. Directors' Responses to Likert-Scale Items Not Asked of Principals

Survey Item	% Agree	% Disagree
Regular educators have necessary skills to serve special education students.	33.6	58.7
School administrators have necessary skills to ensure appropriate education of special education students.	48.1	46.4
Regular educators have necessary skills for developing goals and objectives for special education students.	28.0	65.9
Regular educators can manage the behavior of special education students.	49.4	44.1
Regular educators have adequate time to serve special education students.	34.1	59.1
Regular educators have adequate support services to serve mainstreamed students.	40.5	53.0
Regular educators have adequate materials to serve mainstreamed students.	47.8	47.4
Regular educators and district administrators understand special education rules and regulations.	28.2	66.7
Building administrators have adequate time to integrate special education students.	56.9	34.9
IEPs enhance the education of special education students.	78.1	17.3
Special educators seek opportunities to mainstream handicapped students.	95.3	3.4
Related services enhance the education of special education students.	81.6	14.2

> **. . . principals overwhelmingly disagreed with the ideas that special education students could not learn, were incapacitated, could not behave appropriately, and were served best in segregated environments.**

Attitudes

The majority of principals generally perceived a more positive attitude among general educators regarding special education students than did special education directors. Seventy-four percent of the principals indicated that general education administrators like special education students. Eighty-eight percent of the principals indicated that they understand and relate well to special education students. Furthermore, 62% of the principals said that general education teachers basically like special education students. Special education directors, however, were fairly evenly split on this issue, with 38-43% agreeing that administrators and general education teachers like special education students, while 45-52% disagreed with these statements.

Allocation of Resources

Regarding the allocation of resources to special education relative to general education, over 90% of the special education directors did not believe that special education receives an inordinate amount of resources. However, the principals were divided on this issue, with 44% in agreement that special education received an inordinate amount of resources. Principals and directors also disagreed on the issue of administrative time for special education programs. Almost 40% of the principals felt that they spent too much time on special education programs, while 57% of the special education directors felt that general education administrators had adequate time for special education programs.

Areas of Concern

The responses of both special education directors and principals on several items regarding the implementation of P.L. 94-142 were indicative of areas of concern. Seventy-three percent of the principals agreed that most general education teachers were not trained to work with special education students, and 50% felt that general educators did not understand the needs of special education students. Forty percent of the principals indicated that general education teachers did not implement IEPs, and 52% agreed that IEPs were written primarily to uphold the law.

Likewise, 59% of the special education directors felt that general educators did not have the necessary skills to serve special education students, and 67% said they did not have the necessary skills to develop goals for these students. Almost half of the special education directors (49%) agreed that general educators could manage the behavior of special education students, while 44% disagreed with the statement. In support of the difficulties faced by general educators trying to teach mainstreamed students, 53% of the special education directors indicated that general educators did not have adequate support services, 47% said they did not have adequate materials, and 59% felt that general education teachers did not have adequate time to serve mainstreamed students.

A majority of special education directors (67%) agreed with the statement that general education administrators and teachers did not understand special education rules. They were split on the issue of whether regular education administrators had the necessary skills to ensure appropriate education for students with disabilities—48% agreed with this statement, and 46% disagreed.

Multiple-Response Items

It appears that exposure to special education students for over 15 years has dispelled some of the myths surrounding their abilities and resulted in positive perceptions on the part of principals. On the multiple-response item regarding perceptions toward special education students, the principals overwhelmingly disagreed with the ideas that special education students could not learn, were incapacitated, could not behave appropriately, and were served best in segregated environments. Ninety-three to ninety-nine percent did not circle any of these items. Eighty-seven percent of the principals said that special education students belonged in the public schools.

The special education directors were asked to indicate what they believed general educators perceived about special education students. Again, the special education directors assumed that principals had a more negative view of special education students than the principals actually reported. Forty percent of the directors said that general educators perceived that special education students could not learn; 15% felt that general educators perceived these students to be incapacitated; 29% indicated that general educators believed special education students could not behave appropriately; and 36% said general educators perceived that special education students were best served in segregated environments. Only 47%

of the directors said that general educators believed that special education students belonged in the public schools. A number of directors also added the note that perceptions of general educators differed depending on the handicapping condition of the child, implying that attitudes were more negative toward students with more severe disabilities.

An additional multiple-response question posed to the special education directors dealt with the best environments for mainstreamed students. The percentage of those directors choosing the following school characteristics as benefitting mainstreamed special education students are as follows:

- administrative belief in "mainstreaming" (92%)
- positive school climate (88%)
- competent special education teachers (87%)
- strong administrative leadership (77%)
- ongoing evaluation of student progress (62%)
- emphasis on basic skill instruction (59%)
- teacher involvement in school-wide decisions (53%)

These responses appear to confirm that those variables present in effective schools were also believed to benefit mainstreamed special education students.

. . . results of this survey demonstrate a high level of agreement between principals and special education directors . . .

Discussion

The results of this survey demonstrate a high level of agreement between principals and special education directors, particularly in their generally positive perceptions regarding several major aspects of P.L. 94-142. There are, however, some areas relating to the implementation of this law with little agreement, not only between the two groups, but also within each group. The majority of both groups agreed that the law has been effective and that the integration of special education students serves the best interests of these students. They also agreed that team meetings, IEPs, parent involvement, and related services enhance education for special education students. This finding concurs with previous findings of school administrators' positive attitudes toward mainstreaming and P.L. 94-142 (Prillaman, 1983; Task Force on Mainstreaming, 1984; Stainback, et al., 1988), and the findings by Garver-Pinhas and Schmelkin (1989) that administrators, who are more removed from the classroom, tend to show more positive attitudes toward students with disabilities and their integration into classroom settings than do classroom teachers.

The perception by both special education directors and principals that the federal law is necessary to assure appropriate education for students with disabilities seems to indicate that these services would not be available in Texas without a federal mandate. This perception supports the notion that the federal role has positively impacted educational opportunities for children/youth with disabilities (Council for Exceptional Children, 1984; U.S. Department of Education, 1988). One can only speculate about a time when federal mandates will not be necessary and local school personnel will, of their own volition, assure appropriate educational programs for all young people.

The data from this study point to some areas of concern for school administrators regarding P.L. 94-142, Many respondents in both groups of administrators perceived general education teachers as not having the necessary skills or understanding to serve special education students. Many principals felt that the general education teachers did not implement the IEP. These findings indicate little change from the earlier reports of classroom teachers' generally negative attitudes toward the mainstreaming of students with disabilities (Barngrover, 1971; Bradfield, Brown, Kaplan, Rickert, & Stannard, 1973; Shotel, Iano, & McGettigan, 1972) and it seems to support the current contention by some special educators that increased mainstreaming is not necessarily better for special education students because general educators are not prepared to teach them (i.e., Kauffman, Gerber, & Semmel, 1988; Keogh, 1988).

However, in light of the apparent discrepancy between teacher and administrator perceptions (Garvar-Pinhas & Schmelkin, 1989), this finding might also support an assumption that general educators who serve special education students well have often been ignored (Maheady & Algozzine, 1991) and do not come to the attention of school administrators. Administrators tend to spend most of their time with teachers who have problems, perhaps influencing their perceptions negatively. Thus, it cannot be concluded from this study that general education teachers actually do have a negative stance toward special education students. Rather, the negative perception of these teachers by the administrators might simply be indicative of perceived skill deficits.

It was interesting to note that about half of the special education directors in Texas did not believe that general educators liked special education students nor did they believe that general educators would support the mainstreaming practice, despite the positive attitude reported by principals. Perhaps, as Garver-Pinhas and Schmelkin (1989) speculate, "principals appear to respond in a more socially appropriate manner than may actually be the case in reality" (p. 42). Socially desirable responding is often characteristic of self-reported data and must be considered when analyzing the results.

School administrators generally supported P.L. 94-142 and its basic propositions.

Conflicting perceptions were also evident in the belief by almost a third of the special education directors that special education classes were used to accommodate general education student disciplinary problems. Less than 10% of the principals agreed with this perception. The negative view of general educators by special education directors could be due to the fact that directors often must listen to complaints by general education administrators about special education and by special education teachers that their classrooms are "dumping grounds." The special education directors are charged with advocating for special education students and, as advocates, they become more sensitive to negative attitudes toward these students. On the other hand, principals are making decisions for all the students and teachers in their building and must weigh every decision accordingly. Differences in perceptions may be due to differences in assigned responsibilities.

Administrative time and the uneven allocation of resources seem to be additional areas of concern. Many principals felt that they spent too much administrative time with special education, and many of the special education directors agreed that general educators did not have enough time nor support services and materials to adequately serve special education students. However, many principals felt that an inordinate amount of resources were allocated to special education students relative to regular education students. Not surprisingly, the majority of special education directors whose salary is part of these allocations did not agree with them. This perception by principals was predicted in the Heritage Foundation Report (May 11, 1984), which stated that "to meet the towering and disproportionate costs of complying with handicapped regulations, many states and local school districts have reduced services to normal school children" (p. 11).

Conclusions and Recommendations

The conclusions from this study must be weighed against some limitations. Survey items dealt with special education in general rather than specific disability groups. Responses may have been different on items specifically referring to students with severe retardation and/or emotional disturbance. Furthermore, the survey was not submitted for review by experts so that validity might be questionable. The study was limited to one state and may or may not be generalizable to other states or areas of the country. Finally, no statistical analysis of the findings was conducted, which significantly reduces the impact of the study. Some of the findings, though, support conclusions from earlier works, thus lending them more credibility. The most interesting findings from this study indicate that:

1. School administrators generally supported P.L. 94-142 and its basic propositions. The administrators further indicated a need for its continuance.
2. School administrators perceived general education teachers as not understanding special education students nor possessing the necessary skills to implement their IEPs.
3. Special education directors did not believe that general educators had a positive stance toward special education students, although the principals reported otherwise.
4. School administrators continued to be concerned about the uneven allocation of resources and inadequate time for full implementation.

These findings seem to indicate that there are still areas of concern pertaining to the education of students with disabilities. Although many of the responses by principals seem to indicate a more positive stance toward special education than was found in the mid-1970s, there is some doubt about whether these responses are based in reality. The issues involving general education teacher skills and attitudes seem unchanged (see Barngrover, 1971; Bradfield et al., 1973; Shotel, et al., 1972) as do the issues of inadequate administrative time and support to implement the law (see Heritage Foundation, 1984).

Recommendations for addressing these concerns might include continued inservice and/or preservice training for general educators in effective strategies for dealing with students with disabilities. It is also recommended that general and special educators continue to work toward cooperation and communication if a successful merger is to be accomplished. If a merger is not accomplished, the two systems may work at cross-purposes, services may cost more than necessary, and federal intervention may continue to be a necessity.

. . . the attitudes and perceptions of school personnel will dictate the ultimate quality of that education.

The finding that many general education administrators continued to perceive a disproportionate allocation of resources to special education is noteworthy. In this time of budget reductions and pervasive scrutiny of the public schools, this issue might become very critical. Special educators need to further examine cost-effective methods of appropriately serving exceptional students and/or need to continue to justify the uneven funding.

One current perception by school administrators perhaps not present in 1975 is that P.L. 94-142 does ensure appropriate education for students with disabilities and that this law is necessary for that to happen. Apparently, 15 years of the federal mandate successfully produced dependence on that mandate. Current and future educational reforms will probably mandate more in the way of educational equity. These mandates would stand a better chance of succeeding if school personnel would develop supportive attitudes and perceptions toward students who are difficult to teach. General and special education's willingness to comply with new mandates and to attend to the needs of all children and youth will depend on an interface between the two and a view of "all students as members of the same pool to whom society is responsible" (Sapon-Shevin, 1987, p. 305). Federal mandates may assure educational programming, but the attitudes and perceptions of school personnel will dictate the ultimate quality of that education.

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Collaborations: The Twin Stars of the Vision

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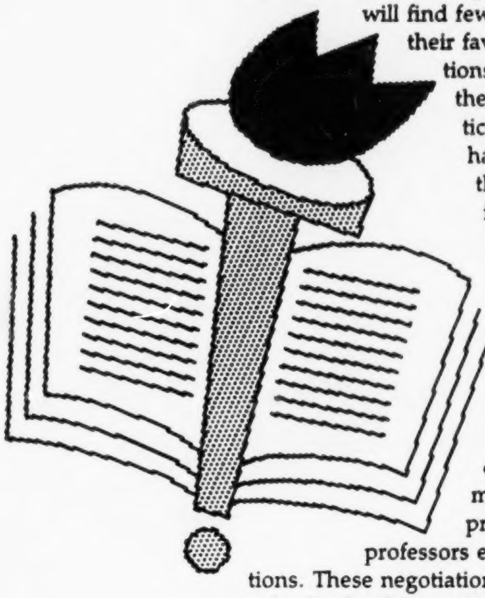
Collaborative partnerships between universities and schools hold high promise as places where theory and practice meet and where teachers, professors, and students forge new curricula and teaching strategies. Judge (1987) applauded the Holmes Group reform proposals for their insistence on the concept of the professional development school:

> Integral to this insistence is the recognition of the indispensable contribution to be made to teacher education by the more able practicing teachers and of the importance of the proper articulation of clinical experience with graduate study at the university....The professional development centers are important in other ways as well, and not least as sites on which it will be possible to develop and analyze new patterns of schooling and teaching. (p. 19)

These are the twin stars of the vision of collaborations: the indispensable contribution of teachers to teacher education and the possibilities for analyzing new patterns of teaching and schooling.

But collaborations also mean a clash of cultures as academics and practitioners engage in subtle battles over turf and tactics in the pursuit of "best practices." The inevitable stresses and strains of collaboration may take both universities and schools by surprise. Professors will find few ready converts for their favorite theoretical positions. Teachers will find themselves defending practices that they believe have worked well for them in the past. Administrators will be surprised by the extent to which they find themselves the focal point of resentments generated by the pressure of forging new relationships. Negotiating these differences will be the major work of teachers, principals, students, and professors engaged in collaborations. These negotiations will proceed inch by inch, day by day, person by person. They will be marked by stresses and strains, intrusions and resistances, pleasures and pain. These emotions will mobilize aggressions, disturb sleep, and, occasionally, bring a shining moment. School administrators and college professors should expect a long period of uneasy accommodations during which new forms of cooperation can emerge which will ultimately benefit all parties.



Our collaboration allowed opportunities for considerable staff development for participants and opportunities to explore new patterns of teacher preparation. Our work centered on developing an instructional model to enhance thinking skills. Our long-range goal was to establish a site where preservice teachers could observe and practice teaching behaviors that would enhance thinking and promote cognitive growth.

Negotiating Beliefs About Teaching

An explicit goal of our collaboration was the elaboration and testing of an instructional model designed to enhance student thinking. It might be argued that entering the collaboration with explicit goals violates a fundamental premise that such goals must be developed cooperatively. Certainly, a strong case can be made for professors working with teachers in helping them move toward goals of their choice. In fact, stunning achievements have been accomplished by school systems—for example, St. Paul, Minnesota's Museum Magnet School—that work without the aid and advice of universities. However, we would argue that participants inevitably enter collaborations with agendas or with some expressed intention to the collaboration. The question is the extent to which those agendas may be opened up to influence by other participants. It seems reasonable to expect that the university's contribution to collaborations will include some attention to the concepts and models of teaching that reflect emerging and promising trends in instructional strategies.

With respect to study inquiry processes, the status quo in many school systems leaves much to be desired. Even in science the most common instructional activity reported by students is reading science textbooks; experimentation and using scientific equipment remain comparatively rare. Mullis and Jenkins (1988), reporting these findings, comment:

> It is disappointing that approximately half of the seventh-grade students and nearly one-quarter of the eleventh-grade students reported never being asked to suggest hypotheses or interpret data—two fundamental skills of science. (p. 98)

Since we were working within the constraints of a funded project (McDaniel & McInerney, 1988), we had little choice but to make our agenda explicit at the outset of our work with the Twin Lakes School Corporation in Monticello, Indiana. We hope to work with all of the social studies teachers, elementary through high school, in developing instruction designed to enhance student thinking. Additionally, Purdue University students in the social studies methods course were to work closely with the Twin Lakes teachers in acquiring knowledge and practice in inquiry teaching.

The instructional model (McDaniel & Lohmann, 1987) guiding our efforts focused on four components of teaching behavior:

1. confrontations—initiating instructional units with situations that require interpretation
2. transitional queries—sustaining inquiry through questions that help students shift attention from superficial aspects of the subject matter to significant concepts
3. responsive resources—supporting inquiry by providing resources that are responsive to questions formulated by students
4. personalized planning—continuing inquiry through negotiating individual student projects

. . . through these lessons a culture of organizational renewal did occur.

Guskey (1986) argues that innovative practices are best introduced by changing teaching **behaviors** and that **beliefs** will change as teachers experience positive student feedback following the new teaching strategies. We introduced the model through inservice training and specially designed planning sheets, and asked the teachers to design and teach four "demonstration lessons." These lessons were observed, and feedback was provided for each teacher.

Many teachers experienced stresses as their new teaching behaviors seemed to conflict with their beliefs about teaching and required more time and effort. "The unit took too much time and kept me from covering the material I had to cover." The theory-driven stance of the Purdue workers seemed abstract and remote from reality. Purdue was described as being "30 miles down the road and 30 miles up in the air." Teachers told each other that they would like to see a Purdue professor make the model work with **their** children.

We felt these comments were the unique response of these particular teachers to this particular project and the way we were conducting it. It was almost therapeutic to find, somewhat later, Lanier's (1983) discussion of the inevitable tensions that arise as teacher educators and classroom teachers join efforts. In fact, reading the comments of teachers in Lanier's project, we recognized the exact stance of many of the teachers in ours:

> The teachers frequently drew from their own experience and cited numerous examples of how they had tried to apply the particular principle before—and how it had failed them; or they would describe complicating factors that prevented its concrete application in the first place (for example, "Our principal would never allow it," or "The student's parents would object," or "We don't have the resources"). (p. 131)

Lanier felt that such tensions should be anticipated and be viewed as constructive forces in stimulating examination and resolution of old assumptions and patterns of teaching.

Many of the teachers produced demonstration lessons that showed marked departure from their usual practices. In one case, a teacher donned a World War I uniform to portray Sergeant York as a way of stimulating students' thinking about the meaning of Veteran's Day. At an elementary school, three teachers combined forces to provide "eye witness" reports of the Incas' encounter with the Spanish conquistadors. Later in the project, these same teachers created an exemplary Civil War unit in which two fifth grade classes became the North and the South, recreating the way of life of the Civil War era and producing their own newspapers. At another elementary school, students waved small American flags as "President Truman" arrived in a 1940's convertible to talk with the fifth grade class about his decision to drop the bomb. At the middle school, discussion of the depression was initiated by a true depression meal eaten in the classroom. At the high school, an actor portrayed a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition using extensive passages from the actual journals.

Twin Lakes teachers and administrators are agreed that through these lessons a culture of organizational renewal did occur. Teachers were sensitized to the perceptions and questions of their students regarding the content of their lessons. Principals increased their engagement with instructional leadership. Innovative lessons were created and continue to be used. Teachers reported they paid more attention to detail and organization in planning and in implementing the lessons. Teachers have made more use of outside resources, other than the textbook, in planning units of study. Finally, some teachers organized units that they had deferred developing owing to a lack of time.

As the collaboration moved into the third year, teachers from the school district teamed with a Purdue professor to jointly offer the social studies methods class both on campus and on site in the school district. Consequently, teachers made presentations to the social studies methods class on campus, and students from the class made trips to the site where they looked to the experienced teachers for endorsement or critiques of campus theories. College students were paired with Twin Lakes teachers to develop, teach, and critique lessons oriented to the instructional model. This joint course was a powerful experience for the college students who were enrolled in the course, and for the teachers and professors who taught it.

The exchange had benefits for both the university students and the visiting school teachers.

The exchange had benefits for both the university students and the visiting school teachers. An eighth-grade teacher with many years of experience commented on his feelings about being invited to come to Purdue and present to the students in the social studies methods course:

> I thoroughly enjoyed the afternoon that I spent with the methods class kids at Purdue. Found it very enlightening for me. Found it very elevating from a professional standpoint for me. Because for the first time in 30 years I was something other than an 8th grade junior high teacher talking to 8th grade students. Some other adult people had some interest in what I had to say, and were going to pay attention to it. And I was going to make some kind of a mark on a later day teaching in the schools. That's a good feeling.

There was new energy in our social studies methods class, taught by Professor Samuel Shermis, when discussion turned from abstract consideration of inquiry teaching to the more immediate attempts of university students to examine their own experiences with teachers in Monticello. The transcript of a typical class illustrates the nature of the discussions as students wrestled with their own emerging beliefs about teaching.

> **Student K:** I have been used to history being taught with a very academic approach. But, how much sophistication can you expect from high school students? They are young. Maybe they can't handle everything we want to do.
>
> **Student S:** They aren't too dumb. They can process that stuff, too. The fifth grade teacher thought you had to have a major production to use the model. We talked to the 8th grade teacher. He started out that way but changed his point of view.
>
> **Student C:** The teacher I talked with had the students out on the playground reenacting the pioneers settling the country. It was taking the whole week, but he didn't know how to grade it.
>
> **Student S:** The teacher had students write a paper after the week. I don't see why he couldn't evaluate that.
>
> **Student M:** The teacher might judge the time and effort put into it; what they got out of it.
>
> **Professor Shermis:** Suppose a car mechanic says, "I tried. I put in a lot of effort—it still doesn't work."
>
> **Student S:** Yesterday, a little girl in the fifth grade cried because of a low grade after a lot of effort.
>
> **Student S:** I hear that teachers are having a hard time using the model on a daily basis. Shouldn't it be used selectively?
>
> **Student D:** My contention is that the model can be learned just as a conventional approach to teaching can be learned. Perhaps these teachers have a hard time seeing how the model fits in. It does not require a major production. A confrontation can be started with a simple statement. My belief is that if you know how to use an inquiry method, we might be amazed at what students can process if we get them to own a problem. We will have to be tuned into the cognitive levels of various students.

This brief dialogue serves to illustrate an important point. Placing college students into a school situation without the accompanying opportunities for reflection is not consistent with the vision of collaborative approaches to teacher education. Ideally, foundations and methods classes should be taught at the site with teachers playing a pivotal role in the analysis of the teaching situations that the college students have observed.

Making more elements of the teacher education program "site based" provides important anchors for the conceptual development accompanying the student's growth as a teacher. Looking back over the semester, one student commented:

> The portion of the course that I think went the best was the contact with the teachers. It was interesting and helpful to be taught by those who were in the classrooms everyday. By talking with the teachers or just listening to them we were better able to get a hold on how the model meets the classroom in reality. I found it helpful and inspiring to talk with

> active teachers. I wish we could have worked with them more.

Campus Issues

We have learned that the isolation of the teacher is in some ways no greater than the isolation of the professor. Few members of our own faculty are familiar with the instructional models with which we were working. Generally, there has been relatively little communication between those teaching our philosophy of education, our psychology of education, and our methods of education. Only recently have elementary teacher preparation faculty worked closely with those preparing secondary teachers. It is difficult to bring a field site into correspondence with a university perspective if the perspective of the university is amorphous, fragmented, and dispersed. Achieving greater coherence and consistency within the teacher education program is a priority agenda item of universities entering into collaborative relationships with the schools.

Crossing traditional academic boundaries is another task to be accomplished in seeking greater coherence and consistency. It has been part of conventional wisdom that teachers learn their teaching method not in "methods" classes, but from the models they have encountered in their own learning. Yet, few schools of education have been able to gain significant involvement of the humanities and science specialists in identifying the deep knowledge and essential processes of their subject areas. Professor Mork of our history department explained his course in modern world history to the social studies teachers in our project:

> The book is there, you can write your lectures on it, give the dates, names, facts, and inundate everyone with that. You can force people to learn it and test them on it and tell them they'll flunk out if they don't learn it. But to me that isn't nearly as important as to introduce the topic which I call modern history. I do this partly through lecture; I use slides, I use video, I make reading assignments, writing assignments. This term every one of my students who is going for an A or B has to go out and interview a third world student at the university and ask them about modernization in their particular country. I also require that every A or B student attend what I call an historical performance, a concert, an opera, a classical play, Shakespeare, Moliere, and write that up as a cultural artifact of the time and place of the period.

There was a certain credibility in hearing from a "real history professor" that significant learning can and does happen beyond the text. The best collaborations will bring such professors into sustained dialogues with students and teachers who may be searching for major themes within subject matter and ways of teaching the modes of inquiry of their discipline.

Teachers as Adjunct Professors

A distinctive aspect of the collaborative efforts is the emergence of teachers in the schools who have assumed the role, if not the title, of adjunct professors. These teachers have come to campus to make presentations, received university students in their classes, and met with university professors to discuss objectives, and plan experiences. The evolution of this role and the development of reflective practica in which teachers, students, and professors jointly construct, analyze, and test teaching sequences will be essential in realizing the potential of collaborations. In this collaboration it was those Twin Lakes teachers who participated in all of the project activities—developing and teaching lessons based on the instructional model, hosting student observers and student teachers, and helping teach the methods course—who made the greatest strides in moving into the new colleagueship. To a certain extent these people selected themselves, by their willingness to participate in all aspects of the project, and by their talent which enabled them to carry out all these responsibilities. It is in such teachers that we see the new field-based teacher educator.

The Future

Some form of collaborative teacher preparation is emerging in many places across the nation. As collaborative enterprises mature, a number of changes in roles and organizational procedures will take place at both the school and the university level.

Teachers in such schools will gradually undergo metamorphoses from classroom instructors to curriculum designers-researchers-mentors. New staffing patterns will have to be invented in which up to 50% of teacher time is spent engaged in these new functions and new roles. Even school architecture will, in time, respond to the need for teacher offices, materials preparation, seminar rooms, observation areas, and facilities for videotaping and editing instructional transactions.

At the university level, teacher preparation will become more clinically oriented, theme-driven, and cohesive. Professors in such programs will gradually shift from campus lectures to site-based seminars where student learning is situated in the ongoing activities of a class under observation. There will be less emphasis on counting credits toward graduation and more attention to the organizing ideas that underlie the preparation program; for example, educating the "reflective practitioner."

These gradual changes will be accompanied by stresses and strains that will, in some cases, be sufficiently disruptive to cause collaborations to fail or to simply hang on without vitality or a sense of renewal. Success is most likely to occur when participants understand that stress and conflicting interests come with the territory, yet continue with an unswerving fix on the twin stars of the vision: the indispensable contribution of practicing teachers to teacher education and the possibilities for analyzing new patterns of schooling and teaching.

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School Board Policy as a Control Mechanism in Curriculum Challenges

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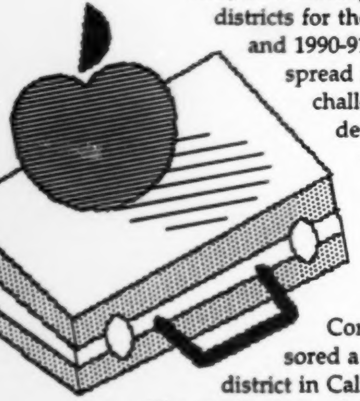
When parents or other members of a community find school curricular materials, textbooks, or library books objectionable, they may lodge a formal protest with an official of the school district. Most school districts have written policies for responding to these protests, which are called challenges. People for the American Way (1991-92) report that the number of challenges are increasing, especially in California. This paper examines how school board policies are used to control the controversies that often surround curriculum challenges. Specific key provisions of model policies and actual policies from California are analyzed to suggest ideal policy provisions.

In California curriculum challenges and how districts manage them may be particularly significant for the following reasons:

- California adopts textbooks statewide, a practice that has a great impact on the marketing of textbooks nationally because of the large number of textbooks purchased with state funds.
- Textbooks can be challenged both at the state level at the time of adoption and at the local level after the textbooks have been purchased by school districts. The *Impressions* reading series has been challenged in at least 33 school districts in California since fall of 1989. As a result the books have been removed in two districts and are used only to a limited extent in 10 other districts (Adler, 1991; Adler & Tellez, 1992).
- Over half the California districts responding to a 1991 survey reported challenges. Further, 374 challenges were reported by 379 districts for the two school years 1989-90 and 1990-91 (Adler, 1991). The widespread nature of the curriculum challenges means that a good deal of staff time is spent in responding to challenges, which can become very contentious and lead to major legal actions.



Because of these concerns the Educational Congress of California sponsored a survey of every school district in California in 1990 and 1991. The results showed that 77% of the school districts reporting had written policies outlining the procedures to be followed when curriculum was challenged (Adler, 1991). The study was based on an analysis of documentary and survey data provided by approximately half of the more than 1,000 districts in California. This paper uses parts of the survey data, appropriate documents, and relevant legal cases to show the critical role that written board policies play in channeling and controlling the controversies that often surround curriculum challenges.

The Philosophical Underpinnings of Curriculum Challenge Policies

Social norms define the relationships between groups and individuals in a society. School administrators and board members adhere to norms that require fair and just treatment in dealing with members of the public they serve. However, these social norms can conflict with norms against censorship in dealing with curriculum challenges. School districts have resolved this conflict by following the principles of procedural due process.

Social Norms

Decisions by school districts on the merits of curriculum challenges must be seen from a perspective of what is "just." American notions of fairness are based on equality in the assignment of rights and duties. Thus, each person who challenges something expects to be treated equally or fairly. The community, in turn, expects that government bodies, such as school boards, will provide equal treatment and consistency to protect citizens from unfair treatment. According to Pennock and Chapman (1977),

> due process of law first gained currency in connection with the assertion of rights and of checks on government, and indeed is phrased for that purpose, its use as a limitation on government in all its branches came naturally in this country. (p. xvii)

Similarly, norms of fairness were described by Blau (1964) who stated:

> Since **fairness** is a social norm that prescribes just treatment as a moral principle, third parties in the community will disapprove of a person who deals unfairly with others under his [or her] power, whereas the one whose dealings are just and fair earns general social approval. (p. 157)

"Fairness"

Case-study research provides vivid examples of the focus on fairness in dealing with current curriculum challenges. For example, a school board member described how the actions of his district would be viewed when dealing with a very contentious challenge: "'We had a bias, but we treated them fairly.' He said that the district's actions would be viewed favorably because they did not exclude people, but rather gave them a chance to speak and were willing to look at the issues raised" (Adler, 1988, p. 63). A superintendent from another California district reported that "he wanted the challengers to feel that they were getting a 'fair shake'" (p. 77). Finally, a reporter in another community touched on the fairness issue when reporting that a district "bent over backward to give the challengers a chance to present their views"(Adler, 1988, p. 90).

If public school administrators and board members do not believe in censoring curriculum once it is in use, how can they treat challengers fairly?

One aspect of the norm of fairness is our societal prohibition against criticizing religious beliefs.

> The prohibition on criticizing religious belief, no matter how crude its form, may be the last remaining taboo in American life. In recent years something of the same protection from abuse that surrounds ethnic and racial minorities—in public contexts at any rate—has been extended to fundamentalists. (Beatty, 1988, p. 13)

Over 41%, or the most common cause, of the curriculum challenges in California were the result of religious conflict or concerns about satanic/witchcraft issues (Adler, 1991). Consequently, both of these norms—fairness and prohibition against criticizing religious belief—are significant for school executives as they respond to challenges.

Anticensorship

In addition to norms of "fairness," school boards and staff members also adhere to "anticensorship" norms as illustrated in the following examples. "One board member said the staff was '100 percent against censorship'" (Adler, 1990b, p. 170). Similarly, an attorney who worked for a district that was subject to a prolonged challenge reported that "challengers had a right to question the material and to a fair hearing, but he felt censorship was wrong" (Adler, 1988, p. 112). During a public discussion of a challenge at a school board meeting a board member standing for re-election held up a butane lighter and said, "This flame either represents the flame to burn books or the light of learning. I prefer the latter" (p. 87).

Clearly, there is a tension between these two norms: (a) fairness, which implies an open hearing and a chance to make your case, and (b) anticensorship, which implies that challenges should not succeed. If public school administrators and board members do not believe in censoring curriculum once it is in use, how can they treat challengers fairly? In general, districts attempt to solve this problem by following procedural due process "to the letter" as it is outlined in their board policies and by showing a willingness to "listen" to the challengers.

Due Process

Justice Frankfurter described the relationship between norms of fairness and due process:

> Representing a profound attitude of fairness...particularly between the individual and government, "due process" is compounded of history, reason, the past course of decisions and stout confidence in the strength of the democratic faith which we profess. (Gifis, 1975, p. 66)

McCarthy (1987) emphasized that due process applies to all government agencies including school boards and provides protections against arbitrary acts of agencies (substantive due process) and "procedural protections when the government threatens an individual's life, liberty, or property interests" (p. 380). She also described the link between "fairness" and due process: "Due process is a basic tenet of the United States system of justice—the foundation of fundamental fairness" (p. 515). Finally, legal scholars have pointed out that due process requires that citizens have a right to air their views on matters that affect them. While due process issues are usually raised in employment cases, such as terminations, in special education fair hearings, and in student discipline cases, the philosophical and practical implications are also important in the case of curriculum challenges, which involve both social and legal expectations of fairness and due process.

> The elements of due process most concerned with reconsideration of materials would be outlining of clear procedures, and in the opportunity for an open forum...It should be clear that the policy and procedure apply to all formal requests for reconsideration—including those from school personnel, school board members, students, and parents. (Callison & Kittleson, 1985, p. 7)

Data Source and Methodology

Data for this research were gathered in 1990 and 1991 as part of a longitudinal research project that uses a survey instrument to study curriculum challenges in California. More than 42% of the 1,000-plus districts in California responded to the 1990 survey, and more than 37% responded in 1991. The surveys collected some data that are beyond the scope of this paper. Of interest to the current discussion are the following: (a) whether districts had policies for dealing with curriculum challenges; (b) if so, whether they used them; (c) when the existing policies were last revised, and (d) whether the challenger had to make the challenge in writing and whether the district responded in writing.

The districts were also asked to provide copies of their policies, board minutes, and newspaper articles with returning their survey responses. The data were analyzed using a specially designed nested computer file and the SPSS statistical program. The board policies were analyzed using categories taken from model policies provided by the California School Boards Association, The American Library Association, and recommendations from academic sources such as McCarthy (1989). Data on the congruence of each district's policy to the model policies were analyzed using a computer spreadsheet program.

Some districts that have policies do not use them when they face a challenge.

Do Districts Have Policies?

As part of the survey, 227 policies were collected from districts in California in 1990 and 1991. The survey form asked the person responding, who was usually the superintendent or assistant superintendent, to attach a copy of the district's board policy for dealing with challenges.

Districts covering grades kindergarten through 12th grade constituted 44% of the districts that submitted usable policies; in comparison, in the state as a whole, these districts make up about 27% of all school districts. Thus, K-12 or unified districts represented a larger proportion of the sample than they do in the actual statewide statistics. Further, smaller districts were underrepresented in this study when compared to statewide statistics (see Table 1). However the general distribution of districts is similar to the statewide distribution.

Table 1. Size of Districts Submitting Policies

Size of Districts	Distribution for Those Submitting Policies	Statewide Distribution 1988
50,000 +	1%	1%
30,000 - 49,999	1%	1%
10,000 - 29,999	22%	9%
5,000 - 9,999	19%	10%
1,000 - 4,999	38%	30%
500 - 999	7%	12%
100 - 499	8%	26%
Less than 100	1%	11%

Source. PACE. (1988). *Conditions of education.* Berkeley, CA: Author.

Do Districts That Have Policies Use Them?

School executives should be aware that two areas seem problematic when reviewing these data:

- Some districts report that they do not have policies for dealing with challenges.
- Some districts that have policies do not use them when they face a challenge.

National data collected in 1980 showed that 49% of the districts surveyed had policies for reconsideration of challenged books or materials (Association of American Publishers, American Library Association, & Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1981, p. 6). According to similar data, in 1991, 77% of the California districts reported having a policy for dealing with curriculum challenges (Adler, 1991).

Of the districts that reported not having policies in 1991, 90% answered that they did not intend to develop such a policy. Responding to the question, "Has your district used the challenge policy?," 6.75% of the districts with policies answered, "No, we have had challenges but did not use policy." An example was provided in the documentary data from one district where there was a challenge to the use of the children's book, *The Wish Giver*, by Bill Brittain (Harper Row, 1983), a Newbery Honor Book.

From the parent complaint:

> During recess a fifth grader mentioned (that) her teacher was reading *The Wish Giver*. She read the word "devil" several times. [The child] covered her ears [so as] not to hear further. With this, I felt it [was] my duty to have someone investigate the book to see if it benefits the children. It would be nice if the books mentioned God instead. (Adler, 1990a, p. 14)

From the district's response:

> I have been checking on this book, since it was not a part of our regular curriculum or core literature list. As far as I can ascertain, *The Wish Giver* is not carried in any of our libraries and is not a part of our curriculum.... The teacher...who had been reading the book, has discontinued presenting it to her class at your request.... We will continue to monitor our literature and language arts materials for offensive stories.... (Adler, 1990a, p. 14)

When existing policies are not used, challengers and others may call the district's decision into question because the district did not use its own policy.

> Once a process to evaluate complaints pertaining to the instructional program is in place, school boards should follow it carefully, as courts will show little sympathy when a school board ignores its own established procedures. (McCarthy, 1987, p. 85)

For example, in the case *Pico v. Board of Education, Island Trees Union Free School* (638 F.2d 404 [1980]), the Supreme Court took note of the fact that the school district did not follow its own policy:

> The board's complete disregard for the policy for challenged materials caused the Court to be suspicious of their motivation for the removal of the materials, giving further support to the students' claim to First Amendment rights.... (Callison & Kittleson, 1985, p. 8)

When Were Policies Adopted or Revised?

School executives should note that the most important finding here is that many district policies (over 30%) had not been reviewed, revised, or readopted within the last five years.

Commentators recommend that before a challenge occurs districts have well-written policies in place. This advice is particularly important in view of the growing concern about challenges. Also, districts that have policies would be well advised to review or revise such policies. Data from a statewide survey done in 1991 (Adler, 1991, p. 22) indicated that almost half of the districts had reviewed or revised their policies in the last two years.

The policies reviewed in this study showed a somewhat different pattern. In comparison, the last date of revision or adoption printed on the policies showed a smaller number of policies being adopted or revised in the last two years (see Table 2). It may be that some districts had reviewed their policies, but determined that no revisions were necessary, accounting for the difference between the 1991 survey data and the data reported in this study.

Table 2. When Policies and/or Administrative Regulations Were Adopted or Last Revised

Year Shown on Policies Provided by Districts	Percentage of Policies Reviewed
1989 - 1991 (within last two years)	31%
1986 - 1988 (within last five years)	22%
Earlier	47%

Who Serves on Review Committees?

School executives should utilize the professional skills of librarians. Surprisingly, librarians are represented on the committees only slightly more often than community members, even though their professional training usually prepares them to deal with controversial selection issues.

Due process concepts suggest that "membership of the [review] committee should reflect a balance between the members of the school's community and professional staff members of the school system" (Callison & Kittleson, 1985, p. 6). However, the review of the policies in this study indicated that community members and parents are not likely to serve on most review committees (see Table 3).

Table 3. Members of the Review Committee as Designated in Board Policies

	Percent of Policies That Specify This Category
District office staff	65%
Principals	76%
Teachers	80%
Librarians	29%
Community Members	20%
Parents	17%

Key Provisions of Model Policies

School executives should note that many district policies and most model policies contain the following key provisions:

1. Challenges must be made in writing using a specified form.
2. Challengers must begin the process by discussing their concern with the principal of the school where the challenged material is used.
3. A review committee (which can be constituted either at the building or district level) conducts a study of the challenged material.
4. Challenged materials remain in use during the review period.
5. The child of a challenger may be given an alternative assignment during the process.
6. The steps of the review process are outlined in the policy and provide for an appeal process.
7. Standards used by the committee to review the challenged material must be specified in the policy.
8. A standard should be established that states how often a challenged item or service will be reviewed within a specific period.
9. Guidelines must be established for selection of review committee members.

A number of writers and organizations have made recommendations on the content of policies and procedures for handling complaints about curriculum materials. For example, the People for the American Way and other advocacy groups have expressed their views. Professional organizations such as The American Library Association, National Council of Teachers of English, and Phi Delta Kappa have also been active in this area. In California, the Association of California School Administrators adopted a Freedom to Teach/Freedom to Learn Resolution in 1990 urging districts to stand firm on selection decisions.

In addition, the California School Boards Association offers a policy service, which provides model policies on most issues that face school districts, including curriculum challenges. These policies are widely used throughout the state. In fact, some policies collected from districts during this research have "CSBA Policy Service" printed on them. To reinforce its stand on curriculum challenges the Winter 1991 issue of the *California School Boards Journal* noted that:

> Districts should remove or limit the use of curriculum materials only after having followed established due process procedures....Accordingly, CSBA has just reissued its newly revised sample Board Policy and Administrative Regulation (Complaints Concerning Instructional Materials). (Wolfe, 1991, p. 66)

These elements are not unique to California. For example, Weil (1987) reported on a district policy from Evanston, Illinois, which contained provisions that "no parent has the right to limit reading, viewing, or listening materials for students other than his or her own children" (p. 449). Once the board makes a decision on a challenge, the Evanston policy states that there will be no further review (no new challenge to that material) for three years. Challengers must answer the following questions:

1. Do you represent an organization or other group?
2. To what in the material do you object?
3. What do you feel might be the result of student's becoming involved with this material?
4. Is there anything good about this material?
5. What do you believe is the theme of this material?
6. In its place, what other print or nonprint material would you recommend that would convey as valuable a picture and perspective of the subject

> treated and be of equal value to the instructional program? (Weil, 1987, p. 449)

What Can School Executives Learn from the California Data?

Challenges Should Be Made in Writing

The two provisions that appear in almost every policy are the requirement that the challenge be made in writing (97%) and that a specific form be used (93%) (see Table 4). In 1990, school districts requested that challengers put their concerns in writing in 58.7% of the cases reported; in 1991, 62.4% made a similar request. Requiring written challenges ensures that the specific item(s) challenged and the reasons for the challenge are clearly defined. In a similar vein, challengers received a written response from the district in 51.3% of the cases reported in 1991 (Adler, 1991).

Begin the Process at the School Site

Fewer policies require that challengers begin the process by discussing their concern with the principal of the school where the challenged material is used (76%). Further, districts seem more likely to set up review committees at the district level (75%) rather than at the school site (47%) (see Table 4).

Use of Material During the Challenge Process

Commentators on model policies unanimously support use of the key provision that challenged materials remain in use during the review process.

> In our public school system, parents and other interested community members have the right to question what is provided as educational material with the understanding that the material is considered to be of merit until it has been proven otherwise....The burden of proof is on the accuser. (Callison & Kittleson, 1985, p. 5)

Over 30% of the policies in this study contained no such provision. A 1981 study conducted by the Association of American Publisher, the American Library Association, and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development found that in 50% of the reported cases "challenged material [was] altered, restricted, or removed prior to a formal review" (Kamhi, 1981, p. 37). The summary report pointed out the difficulty presented when this key provision is not used:

> . . . most disturbing, in half of the recent challenges specified, the challenged material was subject to some degree of restriction or censorship prior to formal review—a finding that suggests challenged books and other learning materials are often treated as "guilty" until, or unless, proven "innocent." (Association of American Publishers, American Library Association, & Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1981, p. 10)

Commentators on model policies unanimously support use of the key provision that challenged materials remain in use during the review process.

Appeal Process

Just over half of the policies studied contained an appeal process, specified guidelines for selection of committee members, and outlined the standards to be used by the committee to review the challenged material. By providing this type of information, the policy not only gives the district's staff guidance on how to process the challenges, it also ensures at the outset of the process that the challengers will know how the challenge will be conducted.

Alternative Assignments

Forty-six percent of the policies included a provision that an alternate assignment can be given to the challenger's child (usually during the challenge process). This provision is designed to prevent the parental demand that the district rush to judgment in order to protect their child from the "damaging" material. On a practical level, the provision is easiest to implement when the challenge concerns one story out of a textbook or one library book for a single child. However, when an entire textbook series and more than one family is involved, implementation of this provision can be problematic, as the courts recognized in a Tennessee textbook case. In 1986, fundamentalist parents won a case at the district court level, requiring the Hawkins County Public School District to allow pupils to learn reading at home if their parents believed use of a reading series published by Holt, Rinehart & Winston violated their children's freedom of religion. Books in the series allegedly promoted evolution, feminism, supernaturalism, and world government. An appellate court ruling reversing the decision by the district court was appealed to the Supreme Court which declined to review the decision (*Mozert v. Hawkins County Board of Education*, Case No. 87-1100). Thus, the school district was allowed to require that all students use the same reading textbook series.

How Often Challenged Material Will Be Reviewed

Some districts have experienced multiple challenges to the same material. If all the challenges occur at the same time, they can be joined in one review process. However, in many instances, the challenges occur months or years apart. Thus, districts need to determine

Table 4. Key Provisions Used in California Board Policies

1.	Challenges must be made in writing.	97%
2.	Use of a form is specified.	93%
3.	Challengers must begin the process by discussing their concern with the principal of the school where the material is used.	76%
4.	A review committee can be appointed at the school site.	47%
5.	A review committee can be appointed at the district level.	75%
6.	Challenged material remains in use during review process.	69%
7.	There is an appeal process provided.	54%
8.	Standards used by the committee to review the challenged material are specified.	57%
9.	Standard establishing how often a challenged material will be reviewed within a specific time period.	4%
10.	Guidelines for selection of review committee members.	51%
11.	Alternate assignment may be given to challenger's child.	46%

in their policies how often they will review the use of particular material. One policy identified in this study specified that material will not be reviewed more than once. Other districts specify a time period, such as three years, before material will be reconsidered. Only 4% of the policies in this study contained such provisions.

One might expect the growing number of challenges to cause districts to include more of the key provisions in their policies. However, this policy review indicated that most policies contained between 40% and 60% of the key provisions, no matter what year they were adopted or revised.

Using Policies to Manage Controversy

A number of the provisions of model and actual policies used by school districts include provisions that, while they enunciate a due process procedure, serve as mechanisms to control the level of controversy that typically surrounds challenges. Organizational theorists (see Thompson, 1967; Scott, 1981) call this "buffering the technical core of an organization," that is, protecting it from outside pressures. Requiring that the challenge be put in writing is a reasonable request that ensures the challenger's concerns are clearly expressed. At the same time, however, the requirement does serve as a buffer because some parents do not want to invest the time necessary to fill out the required form or make their concerns part of the public record. Policies that outline a series of reviews at higher levels of the organization are using a common technique in establishing fair administrative procedures, but the time necessary to proceed through the various review levels may also discourage a challenger. Fiske (1959) called this process "discouragement by committee" (p. 77).

The provision for establishing review committees ensures that the challenger will get a hearing—a key ingredient in due process. But the district can control the level of controversy by the way it appoints the members of the review committee. For example, most districts in this study did not have parents or other noneducators on the committees. Challengers have argued that committees composed solely of district employees are inherently unfair.

Documentary data provided by a district in California provides an example of a challenger who questioned the issue of due process and fair play with regard to the review process used by one district:

> We feel the review committee could not come to an objective and unbiased decision concerning the book for the following reasons:
> 1. The review committee are all peers.
> 2. The committee are all members of the same union in which the teacher implementing the book is president.
> 3. The principal signing the book order was on the committee.
> 4. The teacher ordering the book and teaching the books was on the committee. (Adler, 1991, p. 22)

Even if the review committee has noneducators, these members are usually selected by the district's administrative staff. Presumably, persons who may be critical of the district are not sought as potential review committee members. Organizational theorists such as Pfeffer (1981) have pointed to the political implications of the selection of committee members and the use of committees to coopt opponents. However, districts report that, for the most part, they are successful in providing fair hearings. Administrators reported in 1991 that they felt 84% of the challengers would agree that either they were satisfied with the outcome or got a fair hearing even though they may not have liked the outcome (Adler, 1991.)

Districts should develop and adopt policies during times of political quiescence so that they will be in place when challenges cause political storms to erupt.

Existence of challenge policies, while ensuring due process, also constrains the controversies that typically surround challenges by defining the channel through which these must flow. Districts should develop and adopt policies during times of political quiescence so that they will be in place when challenges cause political storms to erupt.

Court Cases

In spite of precautions, sometimes challenges are not controlled and channeled by board policies. These very contentious challenges spill over into political disputes and court cases. For example, in Woodland, California, Doug Brown, who is represented by the American Family Association Law Center of Tupelo, Mississippi, filed a 1991 suit alleging that the *Impressions* reading series endorses the religion of Wicca (witchcraft), thereby violating the establishment of religion clause of the First Amendment (*Brown v. Woodland Unified School District*, US District Court C910032). The Woodland Joint Unified School District followed their challenge policy using a review committee that met for two months.

> In accordance with School District Policy, Superintendent Watt selected a committee consisting of a school administrator, two teachers who did not use *Impressions* in their classrooms, the librarian of the Woodland Public Library, a parent, and a fundamentalist Christian minister from the community. After a comprehensive review of the plaintiffs' complaints, the committee unanimously concluded that the complaints were unwarranted. (*Brown v. Woodland Joint Unified School District*, US District Court, April 2, 1992, p. 32)

It is interesting to note that in this district, a parent and a fundamentalist Christian minister from the community served on the review committee. This is an uncommon practice according to this study of policies; however, the committee still upheld use of the challenged textbooks.

In upholding the school district's use of the *Impressions* series, the U.S. District Court judge ruled that:

> There is at best, only an indirect and incidental benefit to religion in this case. The central aim of *Impressions* is to grab and retain children's interest in literature and teach language arts. It invokes mystery and imagination associated with folklore to promote learning. Religions also invoke mystery and imagination for their own special purposes. However, the convergence of religious themes with outcroppings of mystery and imagination contained in *Impressions* does not afford a constitutional basis for circumscribing the teaching tools available to educators. (*Brown v. Woodland Joint Unified School District*, US District Court, April 2, 1992, p. 37)

The district's associate superintendent for curriculum and instruction commented that the parents could "enroll their children in one of the three elementary schools in the district that do not use *Impressions* or...'opt out' of objectionable exercises" (Walsh, 1991, p. B1). The district has already spent between $85,000 and $90,000 to defend this case, while People for the American Way has spent several hundred thousand dollars on behalf of intervening parents who support the series (Warchol, 1991, p. A9). An appeal of this decision was filed in April of 1992 in the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

In nearby Dixon, California, three parents who did not have children attending the public schools claimed that the district violated the state's open meeting laws when they adopted and reviewed the *Impressions* series. All the charges were dismissed before the trial except one that challenged the attendance of three board members at a management group meeting that has not been posted as a public meeting. The board members did not participate in the meeting, and the judge who ruled on that remaining charge stated:

> the district employed commendable efforts to insure involvement of parents and community members in the selection of the elementary school reading series... and was justifiably concerned with the challenge to the *Impressions* series... and adopted an extensive review that afforded petitioners ample opportunity to present their concerns. (Trotter, 1991, p. A2)

The judge also ruled that the respondent district was to recover their costs as a result of the lawsuit. School attorneys have estimated that it costs a school district $20,000 to $25,000 to defend against a challenge that is taken to court if the case ends at the district court level. If appeals are filed, however, the costs to districts can become even greater. If parents and activists must face the prospect of having to pay a district's cost if they lose their case, it may limit the number of lawsuits filed.

In a case involving another California district, Yucaipa Joint Unified, the court was asked to rule on the legality of a district charging for xerox copies of district documents requested by parents who challenged the *Impressions* reading series. The court held that the district could charge a reasonable fee.

Tips for Proper Policy Content and Management

- Districts in all kinds of communities experience challenges. School executives must be proactive by having up-to-date policies that ensure fair treatment and due process for all concerned.
- Use the key provisions found in model policies.
- Legal due process requires that once a policy is established it must be used consistently.
- Policies should be reviewed on a regular basis to ensure that the provisions conform to the standards set by the courts.
- Librarians should serve on review committees because their professional training usually prepares them to deal with controversial selection issues.
- Appointing community members to review committees avoids the criticism that the district is attempting to shut out parents and the community.
- Exercise caution in making promises to parents that their children will be excused from using objectionable books or materials. There may be more such requests than can be accommodated without disrupting a school.
- State in your policy how often a particular item will be reviewed during a specified time period. This avoids continuous review of material that may become controversial.
- When a challenge occurs, contact other school executives and professional associations. Other districts may be experiencing similar challenges.

Conclusion

In deciding issues relating to procedural due process, courts examine school district policies and ask whether the district followed the procedures outlined in the board policies. When no policy exists, or when it is not used, there is obviously no assurance that due process procedures will be followed. This leaves open the door to a variety of poor outcomes including: (a) challengers may not get a "fair hearing"; (b) curriculum materials may be removed without a review of their merits; (c) staff members who selected the materials may be disillusioned if their professional judgment is summarily overruled; and (d) the community may come to believe that the way people get what they want is to "yell the loudest."

School executives report that their impressions of challenges in other districts are that most challenges are either somewhat contentious and disruptive (46%) or very disruptive with a community-wide controversy (40%) (Adler, 1991). Curriculum challenges are issues that school executives realize have the potential for developing controversy that can substantially impact their schools. Thus, it is important that school executives be aware of the legal implications required by the principles of due process which form the bases of most school board challenge policies.

Districts have to strike a delicate balance between the challengers' right to petition their government and the public interest in providing a well-rounded education; between parents' rights to direct their children's educational upbringing and the rights of other parents and children to be exposed to a wide range of ideas and information; and between the religious sensibilities of the challengers and the professional judgments of educators. This Solomon-like task requires the use of well thought-out procedures that are expressed in clear board policies.

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The Values Evident in Administrators' Ethical Dilemma Decision-Making

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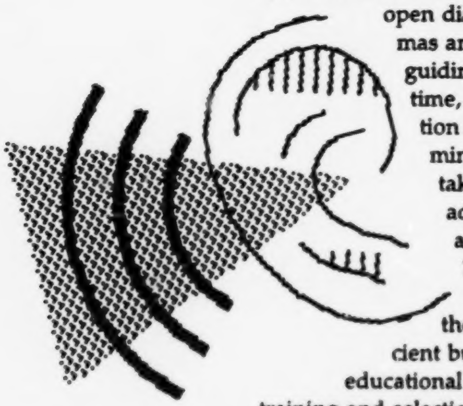
Although administrators confront values conflicts almost every day (Calabrese, 1988), we know very little about their values. This paper presents exploratory research aimed at discovering site administrators' values by 1) identifying the kinds of situations they consider to be ethical dilemmas, and 2) identifying the principles that guide them.

New Questions from Theorizing in Leadership, Socialization, and Culture

Theorizing about organizational decision making challenges researchers to examine values, morals, and ethics. Moreover, such theorizing causes us to ask what motivates, guides, and supports leaders as they face ethical dilemmas. There is growing recognition of the value bases of administration, as demonstrated in the continuing power of the writing of Greenfield (1986) and Foster (1986). There is growing recognition of the fallacies inherent in ethics derived from bureaucratic rationality (MacIntyre, 1981).

Professional Socialization in School Administration

Professional socialization and training in school administration is haphazard; training emphasizes the technical, social, and conceptual dimensions of administration and usually neglects questions of values (Greenfield, 1985; Silver, 1983). New administrators must learn to display loyalty and comply with the assumptive worlds and cultural norms of the profession while being torn by ethical dilemmas that confront them in their daily work. There is no open dialogue about these dilemmas and no clear articulation of guiding principles. At the same time, the professional socialization process filters out many minorities, women, and risk-takers; the typical school administrator is white, male, and conservative (Marshall, 1985; Marshall & Mitchell, 1991). Thus, the fallacies of the thinking driven by efficient bureaucratic rationality in educational leadership are exposed; but training and selection of administrators retain the fallacious assumptions and, at the same time, exclude groups who might offer alternative models for leadership.



Ethics and School Administration

Scholars (e.g., Miklos, 1978; Calabrese, 1988; Stout, 1986; Greenfield, 1985; Hodgkinson, 1986) call for incorporation of ethics in the formal curriculum of administrative education. Strike, Haller, and Soltis (1988) have published a book addressed to that purpose. Guiding principles are offered as encouragement, but little research has been done to document administrators' ethics and values orientations (Doggett, 1988; Seldin, 1988; Harden, 1988; Manley, 1989; Starratt, 1991).

Kasten and Asbaugh (1991) found that superintendents valued in subordinates their "human" skills more than their technical and conceptual competencies, and wanted principals to use their own judgment in dilemmas, although not to the extent of defying district policy. Nagle (1983) studied administrators' ethics and found that they perceived themselves as choosing the ethical response 90% of the time. Van Hoose and Paradise (1979) also found that administrators viewed themselves as operating at higher ethical levels than their colleagues.

Administrators' values are important, but we need to begin to investigate the sources and direction of the values that guide them in dilemma-laden situations.

The Research Design

A qualitative approach was chosen as appropriate for discovering and identifying administrators' latent and professed understandings about their own professional socialization, their ways of defining ethical dilemmas, their values, and the principles that guide their decision making.

Sites and Sample

First, I chose to focus on site administrators—those closest to the work of teachers and students and whose daily work brings ethical dilemmas to their door. Whenever possible, I chose principals and assistant principals who were relatively new to the job, immersed in learning how to manage ethical dilemmas. The data base is purposefully skewed, concentrating on 26 school leaders who veer from the norm of white, male administrators who avoid career risks (Marshall & Mitchell, 1991; Mitchell, 1987).[1] The sample included five minority-member males, nine minority-member females, eight white females, and four "risk taker" white males—those more likely to display alternative models of leadership and least likely to have had full access to professional socialization.

For the first research phase I chose two southern districts (Avondale and Change City), with high representation of women and minorities in school administrative posts. Later, I collected additional data from predominantly women and minority administrators in Eastgate, a large urban district, and in two suburban districts surrounding it in the Mid Atlantic region. (Names of cities and districts are pseudonyms.)

Data Collection and Analysis

Two interviews were conducted with each subject. The first interview elicited information about career decision making and ways of managing on the job. The second (modelled following Korschgen, 1988; Dossett, 1989; Gilligan, 1987) asked administrators to describe an ethical dilemma they had faced and the process they followed in managing that dilemma.

Findings: Administrators' Dilemmas and Values

Rich descriptions of the feelings, the thought processes, the guiding principles, and the way of seeking solutions emerged as these administrators recalled the dilemmas.

Dilemmas Over Asserting Authority and Enforcing Bureaucratic Rules

In the first weeks and months in administration, many respondents faced loyalty dilemmas in their first challenges to authority and assertion of power. The novice administrators felt they had to exhibit loyalty to the system and uphold its rules, its hierarchy, and its demand to treat all situations and people according to bureaucratic rules. (Names of people are pseudonyms.)

Ms. Patrick, in her first administrator role, was under pressure to let another administrator see a confidential teacher evaluation; she saw this as a conflict between protecting the evaluation process and exhibiting loyalty to her colleague.

Ms. Rivers, though trusted by many teachers, found herself on the superintendent's side in a squabble with the teacher's union. She had to be careful not to abuse the teachers' trust for the superintendent's gain.

Dilemmas in Supervising and Evaluating Teachers

When teachers' actions are racist and when teachers make mistakes, administrators must select the appropriate supervision, evaluation, and even termination strategies. In her first week on the job, Ms. Redding, a black assistant principal, faced a tough choice: whether to fire teachers responsible for allowing white children to perform in black face or to protect the teachers.

Ms. Sanders described having to find a way to make a diabetic, elderly, and frequently absent teacher admit that she could no longer teach.

Dilemmas Stemming from Helping Children and Solving Ills

A number of dilemmas ensued when these administrators sought to work around school structure and policy to help a child or to ameliorate a larger societal problem.

Ms. Barnette, a high school principal, wanted to help a student who had been skipping algebra class and was failing. She sensed that the boy needed extra help and confidence, but the algebra teacher was unwilling to allow him into her special tutoring sessions.

Ms. Green intervened when a teacher's test practices resulted in failure for two-thirds of the class. But when word got out that she required a new test to be given to the students, she was accused of watering down standards.

Equity Dilemmas

Ms. Player, a black assistant principal of a high school, learned about a planned student activity auctioning off girls to be "slave for a day" to the boy who made the highest bid. She was alarmed at the sexist and racist messages inherent in the activity, but student activities were not her responsibility, and this was a very popular fund-raising activity.

Ms. Bergen, a black principal, described her desire to go beyond her specific area of responsibility to help a black, pregnant 14-year-old girl who "was having a lot of trouble with teachers, administrators, anyone in authority and ready to drop out." She expected that many would think that she, as principal, was acting inappropriately in helping the girl.

Mr. Wheeler, a principal of a school for disabled children, described getting caught in a dilemma when he initiated arrangements with the dean of a nearby dental school to get free medical and dental services for the students. When reprimanded by his district office, he openly challenged the district's rules.

Such dilemmas—in which administrators desire to grapple with students' needs for special treatment for their long term development or to use the school setting to work through problems of poverty and inequity—were exacerbated by the organizational and professional demands for standardization and specialization in professionals' tasks.

Dilemmas from Parent Pressure

Ms. Rollins was pressured by the parents of two Iranian students who asserted that if their sons did not earn diplomas, upon their return to Iran they would be drafted to the army and killed, a development that would weigh on her conscience.

Mr. Katz, a middle school assistant principal, faced a parent who was upset about the explicit language and illustrations in the "family life"curriculum. The parent also accused the school of inappropriately teaching religion because Biblical quotations were utilized in curriculum materials.

. . . most of the dilemmas described had become dilemmas because there was no clear and sensible guidance from policy or a professional code.

Guiding Principles

These administrators never referred to a professional code of ethics or professional training as their course of guidance for ethical dilemmas. Instead, professional norms and organizational rules often played a part in making the situation dilemma laden. Further, most of the dilemmas described *had become dilemmas because there was no clear and sensible guidance from policy or a professional code.* The phrase "judgment call" recurred in their talk as they described their management of ethical dilemmas. Each separately referred to religion and family background as a source of guidance.

Religion. Without hesitation, many administrators (25% of this sample) talked about guidance from God or from moral principals inculcated by church and family. Guthrie said, "Scripture guides my decision making." Miles said that "The Heavenly Father" guided his. Easton said, "I do believe that God put me into principalship and from that time on I have had nothing but success."

Family and personal values system. The second most prevalent source of guiding principles was family background and personal values. For example, one administrator gave credit to his family upbringing for his conflict management skills by explaining:

> From my parents I learned that if you can sit down and discuss a situation intelligently and try to compromise and reach a point, it works out better. So I think my background and bringing up from my parents was a big help to me in terms of going into the field of administration as far as meeting crises and trying to work things out. (Miles)

Several talked of family upbringing instilling in them the need to take risks in order to promote a cause, even when facing ostracism and career penalties. For these administrators, moral socialization for administration took place in childhood, from family and church experiences.

Volunteered Values

During the interviews, the administrators frequently volunteered statements indicating that they saw themselves as ethical administrators and moral human beings as they work with parents, teachers, and students. Their discussions of career decision making also revealed context-specific descriptions.

After describing his open door policy and his non-threatening style with teachers, parents, and students, Mr. Heck said:

> I think once people find out that you care about them, they take a different attitude. I don't mind going to my teachers and asking them to do something...there are a lot of things I go to them and ask them to do and technically or legally they don't have to.

Later he commented,

> I try to establish myself as an administrator but also show the human side... We all have rules and regulations... I show them "we can do it and I can work with you..." I never come on in any threatening way.

In these statements, Heck revealed his values, their logic, and his sense of their good effects. His statements also may reveal his internal tensions over balancing "the human side" with the more autocratic and manipulative aspects of leadership.

Others' talk revealed their reflections on balancing their hierarchical power and the need to be "a catalyst." For example, Ms. Gaines said:

> I think there's a problem when you get so high and mighty in this role that you're above all the others...that's when you start making mistakes.

Mr. Miles talked about being "a catalyst, not a dictator...I keep them motivated," and Mr. Easton referred to being "a support person."

Nuances emerged from talk about managing tough stands, anger, and barriers:

> I've taken strong stands in an advocacy role. I've stood for what the child needs and I take things seriously. (Wheeler)

Another strong statement about self came from Green:

> When I see something that is a barrier, I see it as a challenge to go ahead and find a way to get around it... I try not to hurt people and I try not to manipulate, but I also use whatever skills, in terms of human relations skills and getting along

> with people, smiling, cajoling people to do things.

These kinds of statements defy traditional assumptions about hierarchical control; instead, they reveal sentiments supporting team leadership and a desire to use administrative power in a facilitative way.

Fairness, caring, and openness. Throughout interviews, especially in discussions of situations of conflict, these administrators articulated that they valued not only justice, equity, and fairness, but also, openness, honesty, and evenhandedness. For example, Ms. Patrick said, "I learned that I can't please everyone but if I was open and honest, even though the person was angry with me, I retained his or her respect."

. . . these administrators articulated that they valued not only justice, equity, and fairness, but also, openness, honesty, and evenhandedness.

Describing a situation where she was under pressure to negatively evaluate a teacher, Ms. Lowman recalled:

> I did not want to do anything clandestine... I had a reputation for being above board with teachers and I wasn't going to destroy that for anyone.

More than half of the administrators volunteered statements that revealed a deep understanding of teachers' work and sensitivity to teachers as decent, valued, caring human beings. For example, Ms. Gaines said: "You need to know how the teachers think, how they feel and how the children get on their nerves so you know how to respond to them."

There were many descriptions of wrenching situations where evaluating and reprimanding teachers was traumatic. Throughout these descriptions there was strong evidence of the administrators' care and respect for the teachers even when finding fault with them. Many revealed, in detailed descriptions, a willingness to work with teachers to correct a problem, and an identification with them that led to a desire to help a teacher get to school on time, work through a personal crisis, or improve teaching habits.

The administrators made numerous mention of having an open door policy and valuing input in decision making. Ms. Tucker spoke about dealing with each situation and person individually, constantly gathering information, and taking time to make decisions while remembering that:

> Everyone comes through the door with baggage that does not necessarily have to do with you. You find out what that baggage is and then you'll be able to relieve them of it and then you can deal with the particular problem.

Such a statement reveals a valuing of the process of shared problem solving. But it lays open the possibility that administrators may use the process as a cooling off strategy. However, there was evidence of conflicting sentiment. One principal emphasized documenting careful procedures rather than caring and sensitivity, emphasizing his responsibility in recommending a teacher for dismissal. While he talked about going to great lengths to help, he emphasized keeping good records.

Although caring for teachers was a strong value, protecting students was stronger. One administrator represented a general sentiment:

> I separate it when something is being done that is detrimental to the students. If I find a teacher is not providing services to the students I will document [it]. (Lowman)

Ms. Green recalled an incident in which she took a risk to help a child, saying:

> Even if I had to do it over again, I would still care that much about children because they need that. They are not knowledgeable enough to be able to protect themselves. I'll be less caring and concerned about the faculty.

The administrators detailed their careful management of teachers—avoiding direct reprimand when possible, developing elaborate processes of subtly assisting teachers to see the need to change their own behavior, while ultimately making sure that the students' needs were paramount. Ms. Player, in her detailed description of how she managed an ethical dilemma, talked about respecting teachers while needing to stop their inappropriate behavior. "I have to protect the sanctity of relationships," she said. Ms. Lowman reported flatly: "My responsibility is to the children. They are the clients you serve."

Several administrators' descriptions of their ethical dilemmas demonstrated determination to protect students from teachers who were harming students or who were not providing good or equal service. The administrators typically expressed value for individual students:

> We are there for kids and not in spite of them... We are there to make sure that we set human beings on a path where they can contribute, be successful, or achieve, or at least be comfortable in this world. (Bergen)

As in their dealings with teachers, these administrators described a very caring attitude toward the task of disciplining students. Mr. Guthrie's approach is representative:

> When I discipline a child, they never leave this office feeling like I am still angry at them or if I punish a child in any way I want them to realize that's where it stops, they don't have to carry that guilt forever.

In a district that allows corporal punishment with parental permission, Ms. Wise said: "We do not touch children around here unless it's a hug... I don't allow any of my staff to be grabbing children or shaking them."

Respecting the community. Although not a dominant theme, expressions of valuing parent and community involvement in schools did occur.

> I've always had good relations with those (community) folks. And it's basically because I think they realize that my priority rests with the kids and that I'll do what needs to be done. (Wheeler)

Most of these discussions centered around letting parents have their say and vent their feelings and the need to have parental support:

> Children are easy to work with, compared to parents, because they are receptive. To me a lot of parents are just children in adult bodies. You've got to let parents have their say before you can work with them. (Gaines)

While the voluntary statements of these administrators show a pattern of caring, sharing, high empathy for teachers' fairness, and healthy respect for parents, the strongest value that emerges is concern for the individual student.

. . . the strongest value that emerges is concern for the individual student.

Summary and Implications

In this sample, administrators' dilemmas arise from fundamental chronic tensions in public schooling. Dilemmas emerge from questioning bureaucratic control, hierarchical authority, specialization, and standardization. They emerge when administrators use personal ethics to get schools to help children to overcome effects of racism, sexism, and poverty. Bureaucratic models of schooling dictate that they should not go beyond the boundary of their specific tasks to pay particular attention or give special treatment to help a pregnant girl or to stop a "slave for a day" activity.

Assumptions about authority and control and standardized treatment exacerbate the tensions that surround supervising and correcting teachers. These administrators' dilemmas arose in situations where they had to find fault with teachers, where the system's rule did not support their desire to help a student or a teacher, or where parents were exerting unfair pressure. Thus, the elements built into the system of schooling generated the dilemmas.

This research shows that the espoused values of these atypical administrators exist within the Judeo-Christian tradition and, when possible, their values lead administrators to alleviate inequities, help children, and support teachers. However, these values emerge in spite of, not as part of, professional socialization. The research provides no evidence that professional preparation by the professional culture supports such values.

Previous research (Marshall & Mitchell, 1991) and practitioner experiences show that when administrators take a stand for a cause or live up to an ethical principle, they may be punished. The moral lesson is—you'll be hurt by standing up for principles. And for educators who might consider aspiring to leadership, the lesson promulgated will be—you'll experience tremendously tough decisions centering around fundamental dilemmas in society, and you'll face them alone, without guidance from your profession. Expect high stress and early burnout.

These administrators wanted to be open, honest, and fair—rather than assert managerial rationality. Even when risking their careers they expressed deep sensitivity to teachers, and most of all, concern for protecting each child's ability and equal opportunity to thrive. The findings raise challenging questions. If atypical administrators express these values, to what extent do they prevail among the more typical in their profession? If managerial rationality and helping teachers and children are in conflict, which is "right?"

Recall that this research purposefully focused on atypical administrators. This research does not claim generalizability to all administrators. Also, this analysis is derived from interviews. Espoused theory and self-description of moral stances are not always consistent with actual behavior (Schon, 1983). Still, if the values of atypical administrators guided decision making at the school site, we should expect increased equity, empowerment, and professional development of teachers. We should expect to find parents feeling that educators listen to them and children experiencing school as a nurturing environment.

Professional Preparation for Confronting Dilemmas

In professional preparation, bureaucratic structures, and selection and socialization, the field of educational administration maintains a professional culture that still pretends neutral technical competence and avoids controversy. It promotes administrators who avoid the fundamental dilemmas and rewards those who cover the chronic dilemmas. In these ways the field makes itself vulnerable. Professional preparation and support and reward systems that incorporate values and treat conflict and dilemmas as surfaced, legitimate events (rather than as phenomena to be "Organizationally Developed") support development of a reality-based knowledge base and a self-critical professional ethos.

. . . their professional preparation and their professional support systems must include experiences that help them articulate values and cope with dilemmas.

Seat-of-the-pants ethics does not work. Its practice results in stressed administrators unable to make decisions with any sense of professional guidance or support. Site administrators live with fundamental dilemmas but have no formal process in their preparation and in their daily work to guide them. Schools are responsible for confronting issues ranging from teen suicide and child abuse to political socialization, racism, and advanced technology. Avoiding or attempting to submerge ethical dilemmas will not suffice.

Clearly, administrators **do** use values systems and theories as they manage ethical dilemmas. Therefore, their professional preparation and their professional support systems must include experiences that help them articulate values and cope with dilemmas. The discussions about administrators as critical humanists (Foster, 1986) and transformative leaders (Burns, 1978; Leithwood, 1992) bring to the surface our recognition that values **are** part of organizations and leadership **is** value laden. Micropolitics literature (e.g., Marshall & Scribner, 1991) actively highlights how values conflicts get played out in schools. Such literature brings values to the surface rather than suppressing them (Anderson, 1991; Marshall, 1991).

New Models for Leadership

Atypical leaders display laudable values in their discussions about dilemmas. Alternative models (e.g., based on women's moral judgments) could emerge from further exploration of atypical leaders' work. Rewriting "the map of morality" holds more promise for educational leadership than, for example, training women to conform to bureaucratic rationality (Almond, 1988). Chodorow (1974) and Gilligan (1982) have posited that women's judgment is guided by empathy, compassion, and caring. Incorporating these values in leadership development could support promising new models. By focusing on control and the behavior, choices, actions, and words of **typical** leaders, previous theory and leadership models have lost sight of potential alternative models. Continued exploration of the ethical dilemmas and values of atypical leaders could expand on and alter models for leadership.

Endnote

[1] This analysis is part of a larger project called "The Atypical School Leader Project" which focuses on the leadership of minority, women, and risk-taker principals and assistant principals. I thank Lee Bolman, Barbara Mitchell, and Laura Desimone for their assistance in refining the presentation. The analysis was originally presented at the 1991 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

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The Languages of Leadership

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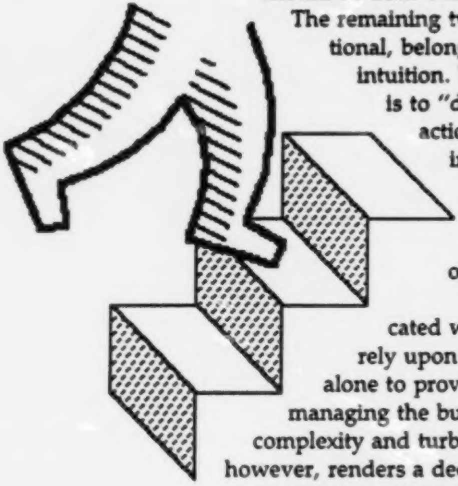
Visiting a foreign country offers several challenges not the least of which is dealing with an unfamiliar language. The challenge is especially great when the traveler does not speak the native language, or when command of that language is poor. The traveler may feel vulnerable and distrustful because of an inability to communicate with others. Some travelers, in anticipation of a foreign visit, will attempt to learn the language. Others merely "hope for the best." However, no matter how well travelers may be able to use the new language, when given the opportunity most will revert back to their "own" language since it is the one with which they are most familiar and comfortable.

The traveler is analogous to the educational leader who must prepare for the impending journey into administration by enhancing his or her leadership language.

Two languages are necessary for the journey through administration: "the language of reason" and "the language of intuition." Barnard (1976) defines these languages as "rational" and "nonrational," respectively, and provides three purposes for their existence. The rational, the language of reason is necessary for "ascertaining truth," or determining what should be done based on past knowledge. The remaining two purposes are nonrational, belonging to the language of intuition. The purpose of the first is to "determine a course of action" (p. 235) when past information does not provide appropriate answers; the second purpose is to persuade others.



In a past, less complicated world, we could perhaps rely upon the language of reason alone to provide an adequate basis for managing the business of education. The complexity and turbulence of today's world, however, renders a decision model based on past practice sorely lacking. Leaders for the new era must become fluent in the language of intuition (Norris, 1984; Agor, 1986) because determining a course of action in uncertain times seems the order of the day. It is indeed urgent that today's leaders become, in a sense, "bilingual."

What is the nature of these separate languages and how might they be identified and developed? Let us first examine their nature.

The Language of Reason

The language of reason, revered in Western culture, is the "accepted" way to speak, universal in its appeal and neatly structured, supported, and quantified. Management theorists have delighted in its structure creating from it various efficiently designed decision-making guides (Maier, 1963; Vroom & Yetton, 1973).

Rational thinking appeals to the analytical, intellectual mind since it is based on gathering as much information as possible, generating alternatives, and finally, weighing and choosing the best solution (Harrison, 1975). In other words, it is a deductive process that satisfies the desire to know why, when, where, how, and who was involved before decisions are made. It provides a "reason" for judgments. Goldberg (1983) states that rational decision making is most effective when all elements of the problem are known and can be "measured, quantified, and defined with precision" (p. 25).

Some researchers argue, however, that satisficing is more descriptive of how most people make rational decisions (Simon, 1976; Lindbloom, 1972; Miller & Starr, 1967). Individuals are usually not inclined to research all the possible alternatives and analyze in-depth the benefits of each alternative. Rather, they are content to accept a simplified model of decision-making, to be content with a decision that is less than the optimal decision. As Simon (1976) explains,

> Whenever the consumer, the president, or anyone else is looking for a choice that offers some degree of improvement over the present state of affairs, his survey, analysis, and evaluation are usually limited to just two alternatives. (p. 253)

Even when analysis is carefully done and many alternatives are considered, it is still not infallible. Agnew and Brown (1985) caution that, "No matter what rational strategy is used to generate future predictions, large irreducible regions of error, or uncertainty, will always exist" (p. 52).

In a naturalistic study of school leaders involved in various problem solving situations in a principal assessment center, Gregory (1990) studied participants' preferred decision-making styles. Participant interviews were conducted to ascertain preferred decision modes. The following descriptors reflect the language used by analytical decision makers and suggest important points indicative of that style:

Too much rationality, . . . , limits the opportunity for viewing situations in their fullest sense.

1. Factual Information is Crucial
    - It is important to gather more information. (p. 186)
    - I would put the problem on hold. I would want to know what all the facts were. (p. 187)
    - ...if you make a snap judgment without all the facts, it is going to blow up in your face. (p. 187)
    - ...if I am going to go on the line for them, then I have to have enough ammunition. (p. 191)
    - Until I know more about where they are going with it and how it is going to work, I would not... (p. 191)
    - I want to make a decision that is fair and that people can live with. They won't always accept it, but at least they (will) have seen that it is based on reason. (p. 191)
    - Few decisions have to be made with incomplete facts. I make sure I make a reasonable judgment based on the facts. (p. 205)
    - I can't make decisions without information. I don't see how people can do that. (p. 77)
2. Factual Information is Analyzed
    - After I get the information, I need to analyze it. (p. 210)
    - I am always analyzing why things happen and how and what causes (them to happen) and what are the solutions. (p. 187)
    - What are the effects of this decision going to be if I do alternative B or alternative C? What are the effects of each of these? I need to analyze that. (p. 188)
    - ...in my mind I see diagrams and you know I put this over here with these strengths and weaknesses and this over here with these strengths and weaknesses. (p. 187)
    - A supportable decision, in other words, one that shows you have analyzed and you understand the policies, rules, and laws, and so forth... (p. 175)

One key point from these interviews is that analytical individuals need information to provide a rational reason "why" they made a decision. Responses suggest that they also make decisions in a sequenced step-by-step process. These sequenced steps, identified from the interview responses, indicate a need to (a) identify what the problem is, (b) gather information concerning the problem, (c) analyze the information by weighing the alternatives, and (d) choose a decision.

Rationality supports the "reptilian brain" in its need for control, predictability, and conformity (McLean, 1978). Things that can be observed and tested to determine cause and effect relationships are trusted. The language of reason provides a sense of security by operating within the parameters of what is "known" and demonstrated to be effective. Too much rationality, however, limits the opportunity for viewing situations in their fullest sense. It can create "single loop learning" (Morgan, 1986), which is characterized by solutions based on measuring current circumstances against predetermined norms. Since norms are never questioned, individuals proceed to perpetuate an existing order that may no longer be appropriate (Morgan, 1986). If educators believe that school leaders should also "question existing practices" (Norris, 1990, p. 6) and provide fresh alternatives to current issues, then it will be necessary to become fluent in the language of intuition.

The Language of Intuition

The language of intuition is defined as an experimental way of knowing, or reasoning, where evidence is weighted and balanced unconsciously (Raudsepp, 1981). It is a "knowing from within" (p. 22) which usually springs from being personally familiar with or knowledgeable of a particular area. Intuition is characterized by a sense of conviction, or value, which must be expressed. There is a compelling sense of "rightness" in the decision (Raudsepp, 1981) without going through an obvious deductive, logical, and sequential process (Adair, 1985; Agor, 1986). It is described as "a way of...recognizing the possibilities in any situation, quick perception without conscious knowing or feeling" (Letzie, 1987, p. 89). Although it does not appear to be a logical process, there are those who suggest that it is, indeed, a highly rational decision-making skill that is exercised subconsciously (Perkins, 1981; Specher, 1983).

Letzie (1987) suggests that intuition is related to prevention, insight, new possibilities, vision, and change. He identifies these in the following way:

1. *Prevention*—an inner sense that something is not quite right. This results in a sense of anxiety which causes investigation that finds the problem.
2. *Insight*—a synthesis of information and a clarification of ideas.
3. *New Possibilities*—novel ways to solve a problem. (p. 90)

Intuition can be transmitted physically, emotionally, and/or mentally to the decision process (Agor, 1986). The decision maker may have a strong physical response to another person without obvious reasons for such a response. The response may, in turn, color the decision that is ultimately made. Emotionally, intuition is transmitted through feelings. A person may sense or feel that the right decision has been made without a clear reason for that feeling. Intuitive cues provide the decision maker with a list of unrelated facts and a "picture" of what to do. The mind synthesizes these unrelated facts without formally working through a step-by-step sequence.

Sometimes described as a "hunch" or a "gut reaction," intuition is difficult to explain. As one participant expressed it, "I am not sure how it works. It just does" or "I wish I could explain this more clearly—what happens when I make a decision" (Gregory, 1990, p. 184). Some intuitive people will wake up with a solution after processing and dealing with it the previous day, while others describe working on an unrelated problem when suddenly the solution to a previous one emerges (Agor, 1986; Gregory, 1990). It is as if the brain continues to deal with problems long after conscious deliberation has ceased.

Leaders, less familiar with their environments, are prone to base their decisions more on reason.

Intuitive people use their past experiences in decision making; they feel most comfortable in familiar situations where solutions seem to evolve from an inward way of knowing (Agor, 1986; Gregory, 1990). As a participant stated:

> I am less effective in a school where I am new. I can make more effective decisions after I have been there a while...you know, just (knowing) the whole, everything that has gone on before... (Gregory, 1990, p. 159)

Leaders, less familiar with their environments, are prone to base their decisions more on reason. The decision-making process becomes more time consuming and often less effective than when intuition is used. Once familiar with the environment, leaders use the language of intuition more often, since they are able to view their decisions in context of the larger whole (Gregory, 1990).

Through personal reflections gleaned from participant interviews, Gregory (1990) collected specific descriptions of the characteristics of intuition. Participants described their intuitive thought process in the following ways:

It is a Sudden Thought

- Some things I know! For instance, I can be working on a problem that I know has to have a solution and this has to have my top priority. I also have one (a problem) that has really been bugging me. Occasionally, I will find that I will pull out a piece of paper and, as a thought comes out, I will jot it down—but go right on with this (the top priority problem). That may make no sense to me at all, but I know me well enough to know I better write it down. (p. 176)
- We had a problem in my department and I had been considering different solutions. All of a sudden, I knew what the solution was to this problem! (p. 208)

It is a Feeling

- I am definitely intuitive. You know, a lot of times it is just a gut kind of thing. (p. 176)
- I have a gut level feeling that I better watch it! (p. 209)
- Sometimes something might be right for you, but you do not feel right about it. Well, then, I am not sure it is right. They all have to match. (p. 178)
- Getting a feel for it, and then going back to get the facts... (p. 178)

It is Difficult to Express in Language

- I wish I could explain this more clearly on [sic] what happens when I make a decision. (p. 184)
- I'm not sure how it works. It just does! (p. 61)

It Comes From Dreaming

- I solve a lot of problems in my sleep. I will always have crunch situation, always. Usually a night or two before, if it (the problem) is not solved, I will consciously dream it, or I will wake up and I have solved it. I do not know the pattern. I know I will solve it because I do not lie awake. (p. 184)

It Connects to the Total Picture

- If I don't know the total picture, then I am not going to totally solve it (the problem). (p. 212)
- If I (am) able to take one thing and ...solve it in this whole school, (that is) the thing, then, that impacts on others down the line. (p. 103)

It is a Quick Decision

- I make very fast decisions. (p. 185)
- I am definitely not an analytical type of person that sits there and analyzes everything. I can't, my husband is like that. I mean we are just completely opposite. You know, he will drive me crazy analyzing everything and I am sitting here saying let's just make a decision and do something. (pp. 185-186)

Intuitive decision makers do have a process for decision making that is quite different from that used by analytical decision makers (Mintzberg, 1976; Agor, 1986; Gregory, 1990). The question, then, becomes: Can a decision process that appears so open ended and nondirected be of any real use to educational leaders faced with today's urgent issues? Can leaders justify such an approach in an age of accountability? Should leaders invest time in learning this language?

Let us examine some evidence that suggests that intuitive thought is, indeed, effective as a decision-making approach.

The Language of Intuition: Revisited

Studies of intuitive awareness among chief executive officers (CEOs) support the importance of the intuitive language of leadership. Doktor and Bloom (1977) studied the hemisphere dominance patterns of CEOs and operations researchers by using an electroencephalograph (EEC) which measured their alpha and beta waves during problem solving sessions. He found executives to be far more dependent upon the intuitive (right hemisphere mode of thinking) than on the analytical (left hemisphere). In support of this physiological evidence, studies by Pascale and Athos (1981) reveal that "Most of the important executive skills are intuitive—that is they are not consciously cognitive"(p. 139). In speaking of an intuitive awareness, these researchers state, "but while we extol clarity, most of those who excel in organizations, both Japanese and American, are masters at reading the subtle signals" (p. 167).

Other business studies lend credence to intuition as a reliable, and often superior, mode of decision making (Mintzberg, 1976; Peters & Waterman, 1982; Agor, 1986). Educational studies, as well, emphasize the importance of knowing and using this language of leadership (Dunigan, 1980; Willis, 1980; Martin & Willower, 1981; Norris, 1984).

Barnard (1976) contrasted the effectiveness of a logical thought process with a non-logical one in managerial decision making. He declared that society should discard the belief that the logical thought process is of superior quality in making effective decisions. Intuition, he insisted, is associated with "common sense, experience, originality, and a sense of adventure" (p. 306) and is, in fact, an essential ingredient for leadership.

Under conditions of immediacy, uncertainty, and ambiguity, intuition indeed provides a far superior approach for determining a course of action (Mintzberg, 1976; Raudsepp, 1981; Agor, 1986). Agor (1986) provides a list of circumstances in which an intuitive approach is most appropriate.

- Where there is a high level of uncertainty.
- Where there is little previous precedent.
- Where variables are less scientifically predictable.
- Where facts are limited.
- Where facts do not clearly indicate the direction to take.
- Where analytical data are of little use (e.g., new trends are emerging).
- Where there are several plausible alternative solutions to choose from, with good arguments for each.
- Where time is limited and there is pressure to be right.
- For negotiations and personnel decisions. (p. 29)

Power-Ross (1984) observed that high-level managers, who take in tremendous amounts of information, spend only a fraction of their time making a decision. These researchers conclude that intuition can be used: (a) where there are massive amounts of information readily available, (b) where much of the information's validity cannot be objectively determined, (c) where both the information itself and its validity are constantly changing, and (d) where professionals, with significant amounts of experience in the decision-making context, are available.

Are today's educational leaders fluent in the language of intuition? Is it a language they use to complement the language of reason, or do they, instead, persist in a single language of reason which provides them with feelings of safety and comfort?

Studies of school administrators (Norris, 1984; Coulson & Strickland, 1984) suggest that school leaders are more inclined to favor a rational, logical style with emphasis on a more left-brained, limbic thinking mode characterized by self-keeping, conservatism, and sequential thought. A study by Norris (1989) reveals that 61% of school administrators surveyed described themselves as logical, while 9% considered themselves intuitive. Only 30% indicated that they operated from a combination of logical and intuitive thought. Some differences are noted between males and females. Female administrators described themselves as intuitive (21%) and logical (42%) with 36% suggesting a combined approach. Males, on the other hand, indicated a definite preference for the logical approach (70%) over the intuitive (3%), and only 27% indicated that they used a combined approach.

In an effort to determine if trends present among practicing administrators were indicative of thought patterns prevalent among educational administration students, a survey of current students was conducted. Classes surveyed included three Educational Administration classes (approximately 19 students each) from a southwestern university (University A) and two classes from a northwestern university (University B). A total of 86 students were represented in the sample and were surveyed over a period from 1989-90. Based on a section from the Herrmann Brain Dominance Instrument (1981), students were asked to select eight of the following qualities most descriptive of their personalities:

. . .the predominant language for females is intuitive.

__ logical
__ creative
__ musical
__ sequential
__ synthesizer
__ verbal
__ conservative
__ analytical
__ detailed
__ emotional
__ spatial
__ critical
__ artistic
__ spiritual
__ rational
__ controlled
__ mathematical
__ symbolic
__ holistic
__ intuitive
__ quantitative
__ reader
__ simultaneous
__ factual

Of particular interest was the frequency with which students described themselves as logical, intuitive, or both. Frequencies were tabulated for separate universities, combined universities, males and females at separate universities, and the total group.

Results

Table 1 presents the data for University A by total group and for males and females for each category (or language) of leadership. Scores for the total University A group reveal that 29% perceive themselves as intuitive and 34% as a combination of logical and intuitive. Males report 56% logical in contrast to 19% intuitive. A total of 19% described themselves as a combination of logical and intuitive. Women are represented by 18% who perceive themselves as a combination of logical and intuitive. Women are represented by 18% who perceive themselves as logical in contrast to 33% intuitive. A total of 40% describe themselves as both logical and intuitive.

Scores for the total University B group show a slightly different pattern. A total of 20% perceive themselves as logical, 43% as intuitive, and 23% describe themselves as a combination of logical and intuitive. Males in this university are represented by 36% logical, 46% intuitive, and 9% combined logical and intuitive. Females perceive themselves as logical (10%), intuitive (42%), and a combination of both (32%).

An analysis of the two universities indicates that females in both universities perceive themselves primarily as intuitive or a combination of both logical and intuitive. University A (33% intuitive plus 40% intuitive and logical = 73% intuitive/both); University B (42% intuitive plus 32% intuitive and logical = 74% intuitive/both). Males, on the other hand, were less comparable by university. Males in University A perceive themselves as more logical than intuitive (56% logical plus 19% logical and intuitive = 65% logical/both). In contrast, males in University B show a slight edge toward the intuitive over the logical mode (46% intuitive plus 9% logical and intuitive = 55% intuitive/both).

Interesting patterns are revealed by viewing the total university (A and B) group. The 27 males (31% of the sample) are 48% logical, 31% intuitive, and 14% a combination of logical and intuitive. The 59 females (69% of the sample) are 15% logical, 36% intuitive, and 37% combined logical and intuitive. The total sample is represented by 26% logical, 34% intuitive, and 30% a combination of logical and intuitive.

Summary of Findings

Results of this study, in combination with earlier studies by Norris (1984) and Coulson and Strickland (1984), suggest that practicing school leaders, as well as those preparing to assume administrative positions, may be fluent in only one language of leadership. For the majority of males in this study, the predominant language is logical, although that tendency seems less pronounced among aspiring administrators than among those presently in administrative positions (Norris, 1984; Coulson & Strickland, 1984). In contrast, the predominant language for females is intuitive.

Only about one-third (30%) of aspiring administrators perceive themselves to be fluent in both languages of leadership: logic and intuition. This suggests that, either they have not *learned* both leadership languages in preparation for their journey into administration, or that, out of feelings of uncertainty and discomfort, they tend to revert back to the one language with which they feel most comfortable and secure.

It is interesting to note that under conditions where intuition is more accepted as a cultural norm (i.e., "female intuition" in western culture), there is far greater acknowledgment of the use of this language by

Table 1. Aspiring School Administrators' Perceptions of Leadership Languages

Group		%	Logical # %	Intuitive # %	Both # %	No Responses # %
University A*						
Total	56		16 (29)	16 (29)	19 (34)	5 (8)
Males	16	(29)	9 (56)	3 (19)	3 (19)	1 (6)
Females	40	(71)	7 (18)	13 (33)	16 (40)	4 (1)
University B**						
Total	30		6 (20)	13 (43)	7 (23)	4 (14)
Males	11	(37)	4 (36)	5 (46)	1 (9)	1 (9)
Females	19	(63)	2 (10)	8 (42)	6 (32)	3 (16)
University A and B						
Total	86		22 (26)	29 (34)	26 (30)	9 (10)
Males	27	(31)	13 (48)	8 (31)	4 (14)	2 (7)
Females	59	(69)	9 (15)	21 (36)	22 (37)	7 (12)

*University A = Southern
**University B = Northwestern

. . . there will be an increasing need for leaders to "read" their organizations intuitively . . .

practicing and aspiring administrators. In the case of western males, there is either a reluctance to *admit* knowing the language, or else a vast void in the mastery of intuition as a language of leadership.

Implications

Education stands at a serious crossroads: one pathway will lead toward ultimate decay and oblivion; the other promises not only survival, but continued renewal. Ultimately, the pathway traveled will be determined by the wisdom of educational decisions. Numerous environmental factors converge to create a turbulent, dynamic setting that educators must embrace with creative inspiration and courage. Globalization, diversity, shrinking resources, and decentralization are but a few of the many issues that create a need for solutions that call for proactive leadership and decisions that reach beyond "bounded rationality." Today's issues demand intuitive perceptions. Leaders must be not only visionary, but inspirational as they guide their schools forward. As schools move toward more humane governance structures and leadership becomes more widely dispersed, there will be an increasing need for leaders to "read" their organizations intuitively and respond to subordinates in ways that will inspire them to cooperative action. Finally, there must be, as well, leaders who can shape and structure rationally and bring form to their intuitive visions—leaders who can plan, structure, and actualize their dreams into reality.

This study suggests that today's leaders and those preparing to begin their journey into administration may not be adequately equipped to speak the leadership languages. The study indicates that the languages of leadership have not been acquired to the extent necessary for these leaders to be fluent in exercising their decision-making responsibilities. Before we pass judgment on the leaders themselves, however, we should consider the context in which their respective languages are spoken.

Central to the problem is the very nature of educational organizations themselves. Dyer and Dyer (1965) postulate that organizations are either creative or custodial depending upon how they react to their external environments and that they reward and perpetuate what is reflective of their very nature. Creative organizations are proactive; they respond to their environment and its challenges with fresh approaches, new design breakthroughs, and innovative methods. They select and reward those persons who are risk-taking and innovative and who inspire change.

On the other hand, custodial (or more traditional) organizations are characterized by reactive approaches to environmental pressures, resulting to conformity, streamlining of present approaches, simplification, and mechanization. They promote and reward those who are effective in maintaining the organization in its present state—those who perpetuate a "cult of efficiency" and a focus on rationality.

Clearly, all organizational members have a part to play in improving the educational system. All members must, in a sense, help to ensure that the appropriate pathway to a renewed future is taken. There is a need for leaders to speak both leadership languages: the rational, as well as the intuitive.

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Recommendations

Universities will need to play a major role in preparing future leaders in enhancing intuitive and rational leadership. Management theory is changing. The whole notion of school governance with an ethos built on a "cult of efficiency" is being challenged. Reformers are admonishing administrator-preparation programs to move from their singular preoccupation with rationality shaped by a behavioral science model and toward newer theoretical perspectives that embrace the more intuitive, creative aspects of shared governance, creative inquiry, and innovation. Such an evolution will necessitate the development of new skills more conducive to a reflective practice perspective. How can universities meet this challenge? Preparation programs will need to be redesigned so that students can experience developmental opportunities such as the following:

1. *Self Awareness*

   Students need opportunities to explore their unique thinking styles and increase their awareness of personal strengths along with areas that need further development. Cognitive and leadership style, as well as behavioral assessments, should be afforded to them through university counseling centers and/or principal assessment centers, such as the NASSP Assessment Center Model. Students should be assisted in gaining a clearer understanding of how they think and how their thought process is reflected in their behavior.

2. *Diagnostic/Prescriptive Planning*

   An individual educational plan (IEP) should be provided through a team planning approach. Team membership should consist of: a) the student, b) a university mentor or adviser, and c) a field-based mentor.

   The plan should be developed after careful consideration of student strengths and weaknesses relative to future administrative leadership positions. University, as well as field-based opportunities for development, should be included in the educational plan.

   Students should be provided structured opportunities to capitalize on the talents they possess; at the same time, their plans should include activities that require a leadership language in which they exhibit less fluency. Such a challenge stimulates individual development and creativity.

3. *Reflection*

   Reflective activities should be an integral part of all administrative preparation programs. Structures should be provided that encourage and promote active involvement in the following reflective activities:
   - personal journals
   - reflective seminars with cohort groups
   - scheduled student/mentor discussions
   - portfolio construction in lieu of comprehensive exams

4. *Mentorships/Internships*

   Students should be given opportunities to apply and test the rational/theoretical constructs presented in their classrooms through appropriate field-based experiences guided by assigned mentors. To the greatest degree possible, students should be allowed input in the selection of their mentors and they should be provided time to experience internships apart from their regular employment duties.

5. *Problem-Based Learning*

   Through this approach, students become active learners involved as questioners and reflective participants. University courses should be integrated around the real problems and issues that confront today's educational leaders. Formats in which problem-based learning might occur would include such activities as: action-based research, case study approaches, simulations (both real life and computerized modules), contracts or projects with actual school districts, and problem-based seminars.

Concluding Statement

The very survival of public education has been placed in the hands of its leaders. Never before have school leaders been bequeathed a greater responsibility—never before have society's expectations rested so heavily on leaders' shoulders—and never before have preparation programs faced a greater challenge to redesign the context through which that leadership will be developed. The promise of a remarkable journey lies ahead; leaders must master the languages necessary for the journey.

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The Role of Values/Moral Education/Civic Education in Indonesia

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Introduction

> We have now to adopt a moral compact composed of the principle of human dignity and material respect, the ethic of obligation and civic moral virtues. (Pratt, 1988, p. 182)

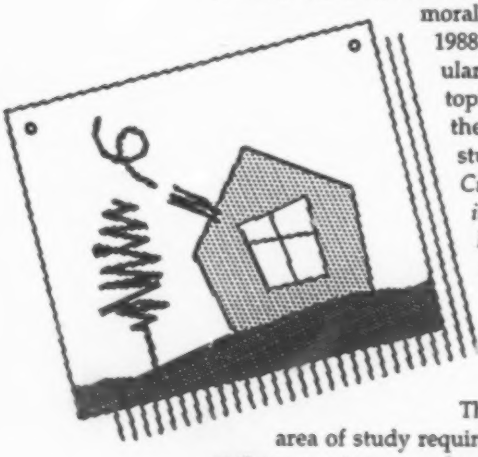
Pratt argues that the democratic social theory called philosophical liberalism has excessively stressed a personal, individualistic view of values that has undermined the acceptance of the moral principle that a person's virtue as a human being is inextricably tied to the good of the human community. In short, there is a lack of moral consensus focusing upon the public good.

While Pratt has lamented the decline of civic education in the United States, similar concerns are being expressed in many nations. Although varying socioeconomic and political ideologies are involved, all are seeking appropriate means to refocus values education to better deal with the moral component of civic education (Cummings, Gopinathan, & Tomoda, 1988).

By studying how different nations are dealing with this issue, one can gain useful insights into the reformation of civic education. This study seeks to describe the practice of values/moral education in Indonesia.

Values Education/Moral Education/Civic Education

As noted above, over the past decade educators have renewed their interest in values/moral/civic education. In 1988, two books in particular focused upon this topic, together providing the framework for this study: Pratt (1988), *The Civic Imperative: Examining the Need for Civic Education*, and Cummings, Gopinathan, and Tomoda (1988), *The Revival of Values Education in Asia and the West.*



The terminology of this area of study requires some clarification; at times our terms—values, moral, and civic education—are used interchangeably, while in other contexts they have distinct meanings. Clearly the three terms are inextricably bound together yet each has its own features and implications that relate to societal and pedagogical applications.

Values education essentially refers to that process by which students come to understand their values and the process through which they are acquired. Values education may be further divided into teaching approaches based upon the methodologies of teaching involved. Values clarification assumes that young people are able to make their own decisions about appropriate values and, in fact, contends that values cannot be imposed from other sources but must be selected by individuals. As such, it involves a pedagogy that is open-ended, non-prescriptive, and non-evaluative. The teacher's role is that of questioner and discussion leader who utilizes a non-judgmental, accepting attitude. Clearly, it is much more of an individualistic approach. Values instruction, on the other hand, suggests that the responsibility for identifying appropriate values lies with society generally and with certain societal institutions specifically, such as the family, church, and/or the schools. Values instruction itself may utilize a variety of pedagogical practices that focus upon specific values to be taught or specific processes of valuing. The sources of values are much more the society.

Values instruction approaches are not always readily distinguishable from practices used in moral education, which focuses much more upon the societal dimension and the individual's role vis-a-vis others in the society. Indeed, institutional and societal concerns are the source of values. As such, moral education has a greater concern with the social responsibility of the individual. This may focus upon local, regional, state, national, or global implications of personal decision-making. Moral education, then, may be defined as education aimed at the socialization of the young in terms of personal ethical behavior and social responsibility derived from the basic values of society. The problem that moral education has faced (and continues to face in the United States) is that it has often been favored by groups with particular values which they are seeking to impose upon the larger, more diverse society.

. . . the first task is to look for a common cultural and value orientation upon which a moral consensus can be based.

As a result, moral education has become a controversial area.

Civic education (also called citizenship education) has as its main goal the conveying of the unique meaning, obligations, and virtues of citizenship. Civic education has a long history in the schools and has traditionally derived its content from history and the social sciences—particularly political science or government. As noted by Butts (1980), any civic education proposed must consider, *inter alia*, both the nature of meaningful self-development and society and individual power and collective power. Pratt (1988) states that there is "a tacit assumption of an underlying moral consensus-...the notion of public good requires a conception of the good life based on our willingness to admit that our identities are social in character and thus require a sense of moral decency and community" (p. 5).

There is no particularly identifiable pedagogy associated with civic education. Most frequently, however, it stresses cognitive development including the development of intellectual skills and abilities. Its value focus stems from the society with sources in basic documents and their interpretations. It is in this manner that values education (especially values instruction), moral education, and civic education are merged.

Indonesia—an emerging nation—has constructed and maintained a distinctive program of both moral and religious education apart from mainstream instruction in civics or social life. It has a tradition of collective authority. While nearly 90% of Indonesians are followers of Islam, Indonesia does not have an established religion. Five religions are officially recognized by the government: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

The Indonesian Context

Indonesia, the world's fifth most populous nation, has over 173,000,000 people (January, 1988), but it is not a well-known country. Bali, the tourist island located at the eastern end of Java, is only one of more than 13,000 islands which form Indonesia. The world's largest archipelago, Indonesia has over 6,000 inhabited islands containing over 300 distinct ethnic groups who speak more than 50 different languages. The archipelago, the world's largest, covers a horizontal distance of 5,100 km. from east to west and a vertical distance of 1,888 km. from north to south. It is located north of Australia and south of the Philippines and the southeast Asian mainland.

Darmaputera (1982), applying a cultural analysis approach to Indonesia, notes that as a new state consisting of a plurality of old societies, Indonesia's task of nation building is one of its fundamental problems. Concomitant with nation building is maintaining order and stability, which provide the basis for development. This poses the problem of balancing unity and plurality. If unity is stressed, the people may not be emotionally committed. However, if plurality is stressed, this may fail to inspire the people to work together for the common goal. This, in essence, states the problem for moral education in Indonesia. As noted by Darmaputera, the problem is complicated because it seeks to reconcile two seemingly contradictory elements—the traditional and the modern. Or, the question is, "To what extent can the modern elements be traditionalized and the traditional elements modernized?" This raises the question of the importance of value or moral consensus as the fundamental prerequisite for societal integration. It also poses the basic underlying question for this study of civic education. While the problem is posed here in terms of Indonesia, the larger question also applies to other nations or societies seeking to deal with the problem of value disorientation and/or value change. The basic problem applies to developed nations concerned over the loss of traditional values as much as it applies to developing nations seeking to maintain traditional values. By examining the problem in its Indonesian context, we can better understand the similarities and differences posed by other contexts.

Because it is a plurality of old societies, Indonesia's most serious problem is a value or moral consensus, which is complicated by its search for modernity. The Indonesian claim is that this problem has been resolved by the national ideology of Pancasila, which will be discussed in some detail later.

In the case of Indonesia, the first task is to look for a common cultural and value orientation upon which a moral consensus can be based.

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Various but one; diverse but united)

The national motto of Indonesia is recognized as more of an aspiration than an accomplishment (Legge, 1980), but it also represents what Darmaputera calls the Indonesian syncretism. By this he means the process which allows no foreign element to remain in its original form.

Indonesian culture is formed of three traditions. The Indigenous tradition is based on common basic elements of Indonesian civilization in the "desa" or villages, which depend upon social peace and harmonious development of the community. Important concepts include "Musyarawah," or people participating in decision making, and "Gotong-royong," which involves mutual cooperation through collective voluntary labor. Gotong-royong is the most idealized principle believed to be the very core of the Indonesian social identity. As Darmaputera notes, "it is popularly used and understood as voluntary, spontaneous, and active cooperative spirit." A second tradition, the Indic tradition, derives from Hinduism and provided for protocol and etiquette and largely influenced upper classes, not really becoming a part of the popular culture. The Islamic tradition makes up the third element. Islam is historically most closely associated with the trading elements of the society, but it is noted that Islam had only a small direct impact on social change.

. . . the relationship between the people and their government is formulated in terms of obligations and not of rights.

Another factor in the development of Indonesian culture was the 350-year period of Dutch Colonialism. While colonialism brought changes in the economic structure, the social structure was basically preserved. An important aspect of Indonesia's interactions and outside influences emerges thus: while Indonesian society embraces various influences from outside, it doesn't accept them in total. It neither rejects nor accepts them fully. It accepts but does not let them stay in their original form. Rather, it transforms them.

Sources of Values in Indonesia

Darmaputera (1982) contends that values come from the myths one believes, the ritual one celebrates, and the ethics one obeys. For Indonesians these are derived from three sources:

The Wayang Mythologies; Slametan as the heart of Javanese ritual; and the concept of Harmony—the center of Javanese ethics.

The Wayang Mythologies derive from the so-called shadow puppet plays which are based on the *Ramayana* and which depict the conflict between forces of good and evil. The Slametan, the core ritual of the majority of Javanese, is a ritual neighborhood feast. The Ethic of Unity, Balance, and Harmony, the world view that is contained in the Wayang mythologies and the solidarity celebrated by the Slametan ritual, is explained thus: "Cocok" means "to fit." Harmony is realized when everything is cocok with its given place and order. Harmony is disturbed by change. There is room for gradual, orderly, and smooth development, but abrupt change is not desirable. "Rasa" is the essence of a thing, but it also conveys the idea of emotional feeling. It also means "ultimate significance." It is only with this indescribable "rasa" that one knows what is appropriate and what is not.

The Javanese concept of harmony emphasizes the avoidance of conflict by maintaining a status quo balance between the forces of life. The concept of "cocok" emphasizes the maintenance of order and divides human acts into pantes (appropriate) and ora pantes (inappropriate). The concept of "rasa"emphasizes the inner aspects of life—the inner tranquility. These concepts constitute the foundations of the Javanese "neither-nor" approach to reality. The expression of enthusiasm, excitement, or disappointment is "kasar"(crude). One has to be active not for one's own betterment, but for the benefit of all. Life in society is characterized by "rukun" (being in harmony, quiet and peaceful, without quarrel and strife, friendly and united in purpose while mutually helping each other).

In terms of government, these same factors are in operation. That is, the relationship between the people and their government is formulated in terms of obligations and not of rights. The success of those in power is not measured by their ability to bring about creative changes, but by their ability to guard order and tranquility; not by their ability to make a right or good decision, but by their ability to make a wise decision; not by their wisdom in making choices, but by their wisdom in keeping themselves from making choices.

Independence and the Emergence of Pancasila

While independence from The Netherlands was declared on August 17, 1945, the Dutch attempted to reassert their claims and a two-year-long war of independence resulted. Legge (1980) notes that the war for independence was significant as it provided a common cause for and unified the Indonesians. Pancasila, a political document of the early national period, is an expression of, and consistent with, the culture of Indonesia.

The Constitution of 1945 became the basis of the new nation. Pancasila, the five principles of the nation, were promulgated. These five principles are:

1. The One Lordship
2. Humanitarianism—a just and civilized humanity
3. The Unity of Indonesia
4. The principle of peoplehood which is guarded by the spirit of wisdom in deliberation/representation
5. Social Justice

Darmaputera notes that Pancasila has functioned as a kind of political compromise, providing a political umbrella wide enough to cover a wide variety of political ideological orientations. A uniformity of belief is not required; on the contrary, attempts to impose a belief would be regarded as threats to harmony. Thus, a single interpretation of Pancasila is not possible.

Pancasila cannot be described in terms of western political theories; it can be understood only as an Indonesian value orientation. Its vagueness is the key to its effectiveness in dealing with the reality of the diversity of Indonesia. It is effective because it is an alternative to Islam or secular ideologies. Most importantly, however, it is effective because it is rooted in the culture and value orientations of the majority of the people.

The Emergence of Pancasila Moral Education (Pendidikan Moral Pancasila, PMP) in Indonesia

As may be expected, education in the early post-independence years was inextricably bound up in the politics of the period. In particular, orthodox Muslims had advocated the creation of Indonesia as a Muslim state and feared secularization, which they felt would result from a Pancasila state (Purdy, 1984). Over the next three decades political developments were to shape the school curriculum, especially as related to values/moral education.

During the colonial period religious education, and particularly Islam, was part of the curriculum; moral education, as such, however, was not included. With independence, moral education became part of the school curriculum, but the manner by which it was included and the form it was to take emerged only gradually. The reconciliation of values/moral education, religious education, and civic education was to take the better part of three decades owing to the tenuous political situation. The 1947 curriculum included both moral education and religious education. Moral education, derived from the traditional values of Javanese ethics and religious education, was based on the religions acknowledged by the government. In the 1964 curriculum, moral education was combined with religious education where it was to remain until the 1968 curriculum revision. Under the 1964 curriculum, those values relating to the political sphere, such as concern for citizen's rights and duties, were included in sociology (Nasoetion & Libratta, 1987).

The 1964 curriculum had been the product of President Sukarno's "Guided Democracy" and allegedly reflected leftist attempts to penetrate the Ministry of Education and Culture. Presumably these leftist efforts were aimed at deviating from Pancasila values and using civics classes to disseminate communist-oriented teaching materials.

The 1968 curriculum revision was a result of the changing political order. Religion became a separate subject, and moral education was included in the history of Indonesia (The History of the Indonesian Struggle). Civic or citizenship education was moved to geography. This was the first curriculum of the "New Order," the name given the Soeharto government which succeeded Sukarno's Guided Democracy.

The focus for citizenship education was to be the creation of "...the genuine Pancasila man based on the Preamble and content of the 1945 Constitution" (Nasoetion & Libratta, 1987, p. 19). Over the next two decades there were to be additions and modifications. The subject of Pancasila Moral Education was officially included in the 1975 curriculum, and in 1983 a more detailed statement was issued along with plans for its implementation. Civics was gradually transformed and incorporated into

Pancasila Moral Education with a greater focus on moral education and the practice of Pancasila. With the 1984 curriculum, the process was completed. All course outlines, study guides, and textbooks were to reflect the 36 P4 items which were to direct Pancasila Moral Education. Each principle is taught in each grade and each school level. The differences in treatment lies in the degree of sophistication and the type of enrichment involved. In the higher grades the cognitive domain receives greater emphasis. Textbooks follow a similar pattern (Nasoetion & Libratta, 1987).

The P4 Program

Any consideration of moral education in Indonesia must involve an examination of the P4 Program. The designation P4 comes from the contraction of "Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengalaman Pancasila," which is translated into English as Upgrading Courses on the Directives for the Realization and Implementation of Pancasila (Weatherbee, 1988; Morfit, 1981). Initiated in 1978, the program was required, by law, to be undertaken as a course by all civil servants below the rank of minister. As civil servants, all teachers were also required to attend the course, conducted as a two-week seminar.

The purpose of these aims is to promote the growth of citizens who can develop themselves and feel jointly responsible for the development of the nation

Since the inception of the program, the number of groups required to take P4 courses has expanded to include virtually all organizations. In 1985, the government enacted a law requiring all social organizations to adopt Pancasila as their "sole principle" (Bonner, 1988). In September, 1989, while collecting data for this paper, the author attended a meeting of Christian church officials in Jakarta who were meeting to plan how to incorporate Pancasila into their respective church doctrines.

The P4 courses involved the 36 items which were to guide the development of Pancasila Moral Education as it became part of the school curriculum. As noted by Weatherbee (1985), "For the government, the internalization of Pancasila values is the necessary mental and spiritual prerequisite for citizens to discharge their duties in the state" (p. 188). Morfit (undated) contends that P4 "... claims to draw out what is already eminent within Indonesian society, rather than indoctrinating the people, and the charge that P4 constitutes state indoctrination is rejected" (p. 9).

As noted, the significance of P4 is in its role of providing the 36 items which were to fill in the generalities of the five silas of Pancasila. Clearly, too, it brought the focus of Pancasila Moral Education into the sphere of civic education.

Indonesian national education explicitly aims at increasing religious devotion, intelligence, and skills, as well as heightening character, strengthening personality, and enhancing nationalism. The purpose of these aims is to promote the growth of citizens who can develop themselves and feel jointly responsible for the development of the nation (The Guideline of State Policy, 1978). This becomes the general goal of schooling, and value and moral education in Indonesia are directly intended to help students achieve this goal.

The acid test for Indonesia as a nation will occur when President Soeharto leaves office, and the political institutions—including the ideology of Pancasila—are subjected to the strains and stresses of its cultural diversity and geographic dispersion. Many are skeptical of its ability to survive, short of a tightly controlled military dictatorship. Should the political transition be less painful than these analysts predict, this outcome would be due in large measure to the inculcation of Pancasila throughout the society.

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Robert M. Fitch was Professor Emeritus of Social Studies Education at The University of Iowa. Dr. Fitch served as consultant to the Ministry of Education of Thailand (1984) and, in 1986, was consultant to the Indonesia-SUNY (Albany) Technical Assistance Project in Jakarta, Indonesia. His most recent visit to Indonesia in Fall 1989 was under a curriculum research grant from the Center for International and Comparative Studies of The University of Iowa. Publications relating to his research in Indonesia have appeared in *International Education* (Fall 1987), *The Social Studies Teacher* (Spring 1988), *Revue de la Pensee Educative* (Canada, April 1989), and the *Revista de Yucatan* (Mexico, Primavera, 1990). Professor Fitch most recently resided at Perdido Bay, Alabama, where he fished.

IN MEMORIAM

Bob Fitch was a friend or mentor to many. He is already missed. Robert M. Fitch passed away on December 15, 1992.

Journal of Research for School Executives

Invitation for Manuscripts

The Editorial Board of the *Journal* invites the submission of manuscripts for publication consideration. The *Journal* is refereed and is published by the Institute for School Executives of the College of Education, The University of Iowa. The *Journal's* intended audience includes education executives, school staff members, board members, and other interested persons.

The primary purpose of the publication is to disseminate to educational executives research, scholarship, informed opinion, and their practical applications. Educational executives will be encouraged to share the publication with colleagues, staff members, board members, and other interested persons. Published articles will provide the name and address of a contact person who can provide additional information.

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b. Organizational and Administrative Theory and Practice
c. Social, Historical, and Philosophical Aspects of Education
d. Legislative and Public Policy Aspects of Education
e. Student Services (counseling, social work, psychology, etc.)

The *Journal* is especially interested in receiving manuscripts addressing these topics; however, other topics of interest to the *Journal's* intended audience are encouraged. Views expressed in manuscripts selected for publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute for School Executives, the College of Education, The University of Iowa, or their officials, faculty members, or staff.

The following guidelines are established for the submission of manuscripts.

Manuscripts: Authors should submit four copies of each manuscript, retaining a copy for their personal file. Manuscripts should generally be 15 pages or fewer in length; however, exceptions will be made when the topic and treatment so warrant. All copy should be double spaced with margins of 1 inch on all sides. Tables and figures should be numbered, titled, cited, and inserted in the text. To allow manuscripts to be reviewed confidentially, the cover page only should include the name, address, position, institution, and telephone number of author(s). Manuscripts should be accompanied by abstracts of approximately 150 words and should include the purpose, objectives, finding, and implications and/or recommendations resulting from the research. The *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, (3rd ed.) style of writing should be used. Manuscripts submitted for review should be in compliance with the *Manual* guidelines for nonsexist and nonethnic biased language.

Return: Copies of manuscripts will not be returned to authors unless a postage paid, self-addressed envelope is provided.

Manuscripts to be considered for review and consideration for publication by the *Journal* should be sent to: Larry D. Bartlett, Editor, *Journal of Research for School Executives*, The University of Iowa, 491 Lindquist Center, N, Iowa City, IA 52242-1529.

Manuscript Focus

The primary purpose of the *Journal* is to disseminate to educational executives the results of research, scholarship, informed opinion, and their practical implications. School superintendents, central staff members, and principals will be encouraged to share publication articles with colleagues, staff members, board members, and interested community persons.

Manuscripts should be written in a style similar to that used in a consulting capacity. (In effect, that is what the author is doing, consulting with school executives on the practical implications of the research or scholarship involved.) Generally, manuscripts should not attempt to stretch the vocabulary or endurance of the intended audience. An easy-to-follow writing style, such as is found in the *Phi Delta Kappan* is desirable. While all manuscripts are not expected to appeal to all school executives, it should be clear from the manuscript that specific segments of the intended audience will be interested in the information contained in the manuscripts.

Manuscripts should not contain detailed descriptions and technical information about methodology or unnecessary detail about data findings. Persons interested in the technical aspects of the study or scholarship can contact the author directly for that information. Each published article will be accompanied by the mailing address of the author, or a contact person, with an invitation for follow-up contact. Manuscripts should focus on the importance and relevance of the research findings or scholarship to school executives.

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